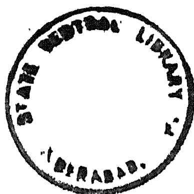
THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

XXX

(February - June 1926)



135

ASHRAM,

Sabarmati, 30-4-26.

I have your letter full of youthful zeal. Some people grow older with years. You are reversing the process. I envy you and I shall now have to tell the people the whiter your beard the younger you are becoming. May the process continue for a long time to come.

By way of change and in order to compare notes if you feel like it by all means come for the All India Congress Committee seeing that you are so near. You may suspend your tour for two or three days.

I hope what you say about Ramdas is really true. I know that he is a fine nurse and has a faculty for serving elderly, I beg your pardon, in your case, young people like yourself.

The hot weather has now commenced here in right earnest.

Yours

M. K. Gandhi

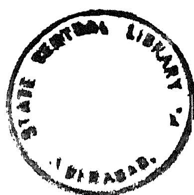
Abbas Tyabji Esq.,
[illegible] City.

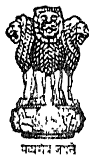
LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI, 30-4-1926

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
HATMA GANDHI

XXX

(February - June 1926)





THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
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PREFACE

The volume covers the period February 11 to June 14, 1926, the year of Gandhiji's self-imposed retirement at the Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati, for rest and quiet work. The projected visit to Mussoorie for health reasons was dropped. Invitations to visit America, China and Finland were ultimately turned down, for Gandhiji felt: "If there is any power in my message it would be felt without the physical contact" (p. 542). It was only because of his concern for the Indian peasants that he visited Mahabaleshwar and had talks with the Bombay Governor about the Agricultural Commission which the Government of India proposed to set up.

Staying at the Ashram, Gandhiji continued to write the Autobiography chapter by chapter, to deal with problems of public interest in the columns of *Navajivan* and *Young India*, and to correspond with numerous persons, known and unknown, on a wide range of subjects of individual, social and international interest.

The racial situation in South Africa exercised his mind so much that he assured a deputation of South African Indians that he was ready to go there again if necessary. The reactionary Asiatic Bill he considered to be a "breach of faith"; he could not approve of Government of India's acquiescence in Dr. Malan's proposal that it should place evidence before the Select Committee only through the Paddison Deputation. Congratulating the Government, however, on its diplomatic victory in getting the Areas Reservation Bill postponed, he urged it to stand firm on the claim of Indians to justice and equality. He had no doubt in his own mind that the salvation of the settlers lay finally in their own hands. He wrote: "Let them be and remain absolutely united. And above all let them be resolute in suffering for the common good" (p. 377). On May 5, the A.I.C.C. meeting at Sabarmati adopted Gandhiji's resolution on South Africa. He assured the South African Indian Congress that C. F. Andrews and he would continue to do in India whatever was possible against the Colour Bar Bill. He, however, expected Indians overseas, whether in East Africa or in Australia, to unite and "to cultivate strength for satyagraha" (p. 502). When the Colour Bar Bill was passed, Gandhiji considered it worse than the Class Areas Reservation Bill. It would "set up the whole of the native population of South Africa against the white settlers" (p. 446). The two Racial Bills

he condemned as giving legal sanction to "The Bar Sinister" (p. 517). The Government of India's assurances in its *communique*, he held to be "simple camouflage" (p. 555).

The allied problem of injustice in India, the problem of untouchability, Gandhiji continued to attack vigorously in his writings as also through constructive action. Writing in *Young India* on the plight of the untouchables, he compared their condition with that of Indians in South Africa in the matter of denial of human rights (p. 380).

Gandhiji continued to voice his opposition to other social evils like addiction to drugs and liquor. In his message to *Prohibition*, Herbert Anderson's quarterly journal, he defended picketing, and added, "The only lasting remedy is total prohibition because, the drunkard is a diseased man quite unable to help himself. Many of them would gladly welcome outside help. . ." (p. 222).

The prevailing communal distrust and disharmony caused Gandhiji distress bordering on agony. He saw his own helplessness in bridging the widening gulf between the two major communities. "Anything I say at present," he wrote, "will just be a cry in the wilderness" (p. 372). The schism in the country was manifested even within the Congress body. His own view was clearly against Council-entry (p. 371). But what depressed him most was the breakdown of the Sabarmati Pact between the Swarajists and Responsive Co-operators at the A.I.C.C. on May 4 and 5. "The tallest among us distrust one another. . ." (p. 419).

It was not unnatural therefore that, in the face of so much that was frustrating and disheartening, Gandhiji turned to his constructive programme with ever-increasing zest. The spinning-wheel as a remedy for Indian poverty was a persistent theme of his writing in *Navajivan* and *Young India*. He took pains to elaborate the economics of the spinning-wheel, as in his interview to Katherine Mayo on March 17 (pp. 119-24) and his letter to her of March 26 (pp. 178-9). Deep in his heart was the conviction—reflected in his reply to diffident co-workers — "one true man is enough for any reform, no matter how impossible it may appear in the beginning. Ridicule, contempt and death may be, and often is, the reward of such a man, but though he may die, the reforms survive and prosper. He ensures their stability with his blood" (p. 378).

He was equally firm in regard to non-violence which he believed men should strive to attain. When critics of the doctrine, as in "From Far-off America", raised voices of doubt about its

feasibility, Gandhiji's answer was categorical: "If we are to make progress, we must not repeat history but make new history. We must add to the inheritance left by our ancestors. If we may make new discoveries and inventions in the phenomenal world, must we declare our bankruptcy in the spiritual domain? Is it impossible to multiply the exceptions so as to make them the rule? Must man always be brute first and man after, if at all" (p. 415)?

To a seeker from Sweden who sent an article critical of the non-co-operation movement, Gandhiji's reply was: "The movement of non-violent non-co-operation has nothing in common with the historical struggles for freedom in the West. It is not based on brute force or hatred. It does not aim at destroying the tyrant. It is a movement of self-purification. It therefore seeks to convert the tyrant" (p. 5). He repudiated the suggestion that the Indian movement had failed, observing that "Non-violence has found an abiding place in India's struggle for freedom," (p. 5) a declaration which was largely borne out by subsequent events.

This volume is studded with numerous gems of letters — to Ashram children and inmates as well as strangers from afar, co-workers and colleagues — dealing with a wide range of subjects and revealing deep concern for all human beings, critics and friends, young and old.

In the midst of frustration, turmoil or calamity, he had an unfailing formula for peace: "It can only come from within and by waiting upon God and trusting Him with implicit faith. No man need ever feel lonely who feels the living presence of God near him and in him. Whatever peace I have found, has been found by increasing faith in the hand of God being in everything. Calamities then cease to be calamities. They test our faith and steadfastness" (p. 562).

In private and public his emphasis was on the strength of the spirit. "Strength of numbers is the delight of the timid", he said in his message to students of the Gujarat Mahavidyalaya, "the valiant of spirit glory in fighting alone. And you are all here to cultivate that valour of the spirit. Be you one or many, this valour is the only true valour, all else is false. And the valour of the spirit cannot be achieved without Sacrifice, Determination, Faith and Humility" (p. 579). Similar emphasis is placed on consistency between one's private life and public image in the article on "Truth *v. Brahmacharya*" (pp. 13-6), which provides a clue to events and utterances of twenty years after.

NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text have generally been spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and interviews, as also passages which are not by Gandhiji, have been set up in small type. In reports of speeches and interviews slight changes and omissions, where necessary, have been made in passages not attributed to Gandhiji.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication. The writings are placed under the date of publication, except where they carry a date-line or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

References to Volume I of this series are to the August 1958 edition. References to *An Autobiography* cite only the Part and Chapter, in view of the varying pagination in different editions.

In the source-line, S.N. stands for documents which are available in original at the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to those available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C.W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the Volume are also provided at the end.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For material in this volume, we are indebted to the Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust and Sangrahalaya, the Navajivan Trust and the Gujarat Vidyapith Granthalaya, Ahmedabad; the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, and the National Archives of India, New Delhi; Smt. Mirabehn, Gaaden, Austria; Smt. Sushilabehn Gandhi, Phœnix, Durban; Smt. Vasumati Pandit, Surat; Smt. Tehmina Khambhatta, Bombay; Shri G. D. Birla, Calcutta; Shri Dahyabhai Patel, Dholka; Shri Shivabhai Patel, Bochasan; Shri Parasram Mehrotra, New Delhi; Shri Mahesh A. Pattani, Bhavnagar; Shri Haribhau Ganesh Phatak, Poona; Shri Shantikumar Morarji, Bombay; the publishers of the books—*A Bunch of Old Letters*, *Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne*, *Bapuni Prasadi*, *Bapu's Letters to Mira*, *Gleanings*, *My Dear Child*, *Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad*, *Vithalbhai Patel—Life and Times* and the following newspapers and journals: *The Bombay Chronicle*, *Forward*, *Gujarati*, *Hindi Navajivan*, *The Hindu*, *The Hindustan Times*, *The Indian Review*, *The Leader*, *Navajivan*, *Young India*.

For research and reference facilities, we owe thanks to the All-India Congress Committee Library, the Indian Council of World Affairs Library, the Research and Reference Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and Shri Pyarelal Nayyar, New Delhi; and, for assistance in photo-printing documents, to the Photo Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi.

CONTENTS



1. *NOTES*

Breach of Faith

The threatened Asiatic Bill is a breach of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement regarding the whole of South Africa, and it is a breach of faith also as regards Natal as brought out by Mr. Andrews in one of his letters to the Press in South Africa and reproduced in *Indian Opinion* just to hand. The following is the apposite extract:

> The Natal Government brought out under contract, from the year 1860 onwards, the vast majority of Indians who landed in South Africa. It was agreed between the two Governments, before they left India, that if they fulfilled their five years' labour contract on the sugar plantations they should be given certain rights in Natal, including those of domicile together with open purchase of land and immovable property. The Natal Government, in its eagerness to get this indentured Indian labour, also agreed that Indian traders should be allowed to accompany the labourers as free Indians.
>
> These Indian labourers purchased those rights at a great cost. For the five years' indenture was accompanied by such grave moral evils, that it has now been entirely abandoned as a vicious labour system. The Natal Government, up to quite recent times, has endeavoured to observe faithfully its side of the contract. Section 148 of the South Africa Act makes it clear that agreements made by the Natal Colonial Government devolve upon the Union. (*Year Book*, p. 74)

Economic Fallacy

The same letter thus disposes of the economic argument often brought against the Indian settler:

> The Indian question itself is by no means so serious from an economic standpoint as most people in South Africa have been led to think. Indeed, in reality, the solution has been already obtained, because the Indian competition is a diminishing and not an increasing factor. Yet even in a city like Durban, where Indians are most numerous of all, the net increase in the value of properties held by Indians between 1921 and 1925 was only in round figures a quarter of a million while that of Europeans was four millions. Yet the Indian and European populations in Durban and suburbs are in the proportions of four to five. I have already stated, and would state again, that the census of 1921 showed a European increase of 39.8 per cent, while the Indian increase was only 6.1 per cent. Every year Indians in large numbers are leaving the country never to

return. No more are allowed to come in. The Indian men in the Union are greater in number than the women. Therefore the birth-rate is not likely to be a high one. The whole number of Indians in the Union was only 161,000 in 1921. If there happen to be cases where Indian shops are increasing in number, I have seen with my own eyes other places where the decrease is equally marked. What cause is there, then, for any economic fear? The problem is easily able to solve itself, if only time is allowed; and in the increasing prosperity (which is certain to come with the improvement of trade) the shortage of labour will everywhere soon be felt and the majority of Indians, who still do useful and steady industrial and agricultural work, will all be needed. It seems indeed almost an absurd thing, at such a time, to be driving such a valuable labour asset out of the country.

Mr. Andrews could have added that in the other parts of South Africa the Indian position is infinitely worse than in Durban. In the major part of the Union he is landless and is dependent purely on the goodwill of his European landlord. His only crime is that besides being a labourer he dares to engage in trade and eke out an honest living. Dispassionately examined, the cry against the Asiatic has no foundation save in an insensate colour prejudice and petty trade jealousy.

Young India, 11-2-1926

2. *BUY KHADI WITH THE DIFFERENCE*[1]

. . . Anyway you will see how much money third class travelling saves and you can buy khadi with the difference.

This reminds me why I began this story. I was travelling third class. I was thinking what a beautiful song two beggar boys had just sung and what would happen to literature if ticket-collectors ruled these scamps out, when a gentleman, educated and clean, and occupying more than his share of the seat just like myself, sat up, and asked me "Would you mind if I asked you a question, sir?"

It was not one question, but many. I had to go for the hundredth time into the justifications for khadi. It was interesting and his doubts cleared my own mind in a wonderful manner.

The editor having been for some years now a stranger to the delights and the difficulties of third class travelling is always glad

[1] From this article by C. Rajagopalachari, only the passage on which Gandhiji commented is reproduced here.

to find space for well-spun stories about the people's travelling class, especially when they connect themselves with the people's Wheel of Fortune.

Young India, 11-2-1926

3. *FROM SWEDEN*

Thus writes a Swedish correspondent:

It is a great joy to me to get your paper every week and it seems to me as if I stood in constant contact with you. I see that you answer in *Young India* questions from people in distant countries, and wonder if you will also answer questions from me. . . . Will you tell me in your paper if you still adhere to your first programme in all its parts? Papers say you have changed your opinions about several points, but you are as eager as ever for non-co-operation? In our biggest paper there has been an article about you and I translate on a separate paper the principal points. I think they prove a very great want of insight in India's present situation. People don't seem to understand that since the English have tried to trample out every aspect of greatness in the character of the masses they cannot in one day, month or year regain all they have lost. There must be a rebuilding *from where they stand.* It is slow work but what a glorious material to work upon!

I wonder if I dare trouble you with answering in *Young India* what I translate from the article. I should like to enlighten the public about your real opinion. . . . I think your spinning-wheel is a foundation on which India's liberation, economic well-being and, as a product, spiritual "renaissance", is to be built.

If I have been too presuming, I ask you to forgive me. We have in our Bible a sentence: "Love drives away fear" and I have loved India and its people for nearly forty years—that's my only excuse for writing to you as I do.

The following[1] is the extract translation sent by the correspondent:

Gandhi embodies in his fanatical spiritual imperialism and his hatred to Western civilization the reactionary India. . . .

We have shown how Gandhi, preaching the ideal of renunciation and the silent contemplation, at the same time carries on eager breadwinner politics and how his all-embracing agitation assumes just the order of things that he wants to do away with. A third contradiction

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

> shows itself in Gandhi's behaviour concerning the castes. Gandhi naturally strives for a social order suited for the economic ideal, the independence of the village community which he teaches. The old caste institution must consequently have an absolute defender in Gandhi. But this is not the case. On several points, especially concerning the untouchables, Gandhi has declared an opinion different from the orthodox standpoint. He thus works to help the modern time. It is clear that a movement so full of contradictions and strange things as the integral nationalisms and its last offspring, Gandhism cannot produce anything of importance. The boycott against the legislative councils, the schools, law-courts and goods from the mills, has completely failed. . . .

As to the question embodied in the letter, I must repeat what I have said in these columns before that I retain my faith intact in the original programme of non-co-operation. I also feel that it has done a distinct service to the national cause. The institutions attacked do not retain the glamour they had before. But I recognize that the reaction too has been great and that many of those who were concerned with the institutions in question have gone back to them. But I am confident that at the proper time the whole programme is bound to be revived, in a modified form it may be, but retaining its essential character. Meanwhile as a practical man I help my old comrades in every humble way I can without sacrificing my own principles or practice.

As for the extract from the Swedish newspaper, it betrays the usual ignorance of my motives and actions. I am not concerned with doing away with the railways. The spread of the spinning-wheel I hold to be quite consistent with the existence of the railways. The spinning-wheel is designed to revive the national cottage industry and thus bring about a natural and equitable distribution of the wealth derivable from the largest industry next only to agriculture and thereby stop the double evil of enforced idleness and pauperism. Nor have I ever suggested or contemplated the turning out of the English from India. What I do contemplate is a radical change in the English outlook upon the Government of India. The present unnatural and degrading system of subtle slavery must be changed at any cost. There is no room for Englishmen as masters. There is room for them if they will remain as friends and helpers. The writer of the article simply does not understand the grand implications of the removal of untouchability. He cannot perceive that its removal is calculated to purge Hinduism of the greatest evil that has crept into it, without touching the great system of division of work. It is difficult, it must be admitted, for busy men looking at the great

movement from a distance to observe the unfamiliar but vital core beneath the temporary but familiar crust overlaying it. It is difficult for them also not to mistake the husk for the kernel. The movement of non-violent non-co-operation has nothing in common with the historical struggles for freedom in the West. It is not based on brute force or hatred. It does not aim at destroying the tyrant. It is a movement of self-purification. It therefore seeks to convert the tyrant. It may fail because India may not be ready for mass non-violence. But it would be wrong to judge the movement by false standards. My own opinion is that the movement has in no wise failed. Non-violence has found an abiding place in India's struggle for freedom. That the programme could not be finished in a year's time merely shows that the people could not cope with a mighty upheaval during such a short time. But it is a leaven which is silently but surely working its way among the masses.

Young India, 11-2-1926

4. *TERMS OF PROHIBITION*

The Governor of Bombay has plainly told the Anjuman of Broach that if they want prohibition they must find fresh sources of revenue to replace the revenue derived from drink. In other words it is no concern of the Government to arrest the evil of drink. It is the duty of the reformer to supply the revenue lost by return to sobriety. Prohibitionists therefore, if they want early prohibition, will have to make up their minds as to their reply to H.E. the Governor of Bombay which represents in this case the policy of the Government of India. I hold it to be utterly unjust to further tax the already over-taxed taxpayer. Prohibition can only come by cutting down expenditure. The military budget is the item that easily admits of retrenchment. But whether this opinion is sound or not, prohibitionists have to formulate their policy as to the method of meeting the difficulty raised by the Governor of Bombay.

Young India, 11-2-1926

5. *ABUSE OF POWER*

Protests in India notwithstanding, the Union Parliament has passed the anti-colour legislation. This does not so materially affect Indian settlers as the natives of the soil. They and Asiatics are virtually debarred by this legislation from doing any work on the mines which Europeans can or will do. It is an unnecessary affront put upon Indians. For there are very few working on the mines. So far as the natives are concerned the legislation not only reduces their legal status but it also affects the material interest of thousands working on the mines. No wonder General Smuts uttered a grave note of warning against the legislation and likened it to a fire-brand thrown in a haystack. The Bill is a challenge to the Natives. Illiterate though they may be, they are as proud and sensitive as any people on earth. In their helplessness they may be unable to answer the challenge but there is no doubt that the Europeans of South Africa if they persist in their arrogant policy will have sown the seeds of their own destruction. It is stated that the Senate will reject the measure when it comes before it. It ought to. But the same cable tells us that the existing Government have a majority in the combined Houses which they propose to use in order to carry out their purpose. If this temper continues, the anti-Asiatic measure which is agitating India at the present moment is not likely to be postponed as Mr. Andrews hopes it will. These measures really hang together and represent the settled policy of the present Union Government on the question of colour. Only the strongest attitude on the part of the Government of India can bring about a reconsideration of that policy.

Young India, 11-2-1926

6. LETTER TO CLARA ALIAS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter of 1st January last. It is quite true that what we want at the present moment is a living faith in the ultimate victory of truth in spite of all appearances to the contrary. And this faith is impossible unless one is prepared to regard suffering as the richest treasure of life.

Yours sincerely,

MADAM CLARA ALIAS
ROCHUSSTE, 3g
DUSSELDORF
(GERMANY)

From a photostat: S.N. 14092

7. LETTER TO ANUPAMA BANERJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I got your letter only yesterday and evidently Suprova was married on the 4th inst. However, nothing is lost as it was impossible for me to attend the wedding and my blessings are not too late. I wish both her and her husband all the happiness that they deserve and a long life of service to the motherland. I hope you are all keeping well.

Yours sincerely,

SHRIMATI ANUPAMA BANERJI
57 B, LINTON STREET
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 14093

8. LETTER TO BISHOP FISHER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter just before your departure for America where I hope you and Mrs. Fisher will have a good time.

I have no doubt that whatever the present result of the South African struggle, the seed sown by you and now being watered by Mr. Andrews will bear ample fruit in its own time. I cannot be dislodged from my faith in the ultimate triumph of truth which to my mind is the only thing that counts. The downs of life on the way to it will have been all forgotten when we have attained the summit.

Mrs. Fisher asked me for a message. I can only repeat what I have been saying to so many American friends who have been calling on me, namely, what is required most is serious and careful study of the Indian movement. What I see happening in America is distressful, either an exaggerated view of the movement or a belittling of it. Both are alike distortions. I regard the movement to be one of permanent interest and fraught with very important consequences. It therefore needs a diligent study, not a mere superficial newspaper glance. May your visit to America then result in the more accurate estimate of the movement in India.

Whenever you can come to the Ashram, you know you are sure of a welcome.

Yours sincerely,

BISHOP FISHER
150, FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 14095

9. LETTER TO R. L. SUR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 28th ultimo. I have sent the message to Mrs. Fisher which I have incorporated in my letter to Bishop Fisher. I thank you however for reminding me of my promise and the offer to send the message to Mrs. Fisher.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. L. SUR
SECRETARY TO BISHOP FISHER
METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
3, MIDDLETON STREET
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 14094

10. LETTER TO ANTOINETTE MIRBEL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have been receiving your letters regularly. Please do not think that you are unworthy to be my disciple. I regard myself as too imperfect to have any disciples. Do not for one moment think that those who are living with me at the Ashram I regard as my disciples. They are all co-workers with me. I am in the position of an elder to them. And I am an elder because I may be considered to be more experienced than they are and my experience is at their disposal equally with theirs. There is no secret either about the royal road I told you of. The royal road is the doing of one's appointed duty to the best of one's ability and the dedication of all service to God. Work done in this fashion always clears difficulties in front of us and shows us also whenever we err. You should certainly continue the union amongst your friends of the little circle you have mentioned and my advice will be always at your disposal.

I hope you are at peace with yourself and your neighbours and in the enjoyment of good health.

Yours sincerely,

MADAM A. MIRBEL
100, RUE BRALE MAISON
LILLE
(FRANCE)

From a photostat: S.N. 14096

11. LETTER TO P. S. VARIER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The parcel I had four or five days before the receipt of the letter. I thank you for both.

I fear that for myself personally your medicine will be useless because I can take only one or two ingredients in any 24 hours, as I can take only five ingredients during that period whether in the shape of medicine or food. Thus if your pill contains more than one ingredient, I must not take it because I should then have no food.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. S. VARIER
ARYA VAIDYA SALA
KOTTAKAL
S. MALABAR

From a photostat: S.N. 14097

12. LETTER TO MAINA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 12, 1926

MY DEAR MAINA,

Owing to pressure of work and then my illness, I have not been able to write to you earlier. I am glad that Badar is married. Not because I consider that it was necessary for Badar to be married but because his mother desired it and Badar felt



the call to obey his mother's wishes. I hope that Badar and his wife will have a long and happy life of service before them.

Badar is free to wear hand-spun silk if he wishes so, but I must own silk, for men at any rate, is most repugnant to my taste. But my taste need be no guidance for Badar or anybody else. He must consult his own taste and if silk-wear pleases him, he may wear it.

How are you getting on and what are you doing?

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 14098

13. LETTER TO A FRIEND

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am obliged to dictate this because my right hand requires rest for too much writing. I am sorry that my letter of October last was miscarried. I do not know that anybody has purposely withheld that letter from you. These postal miscarriages do take place. It is also probable that by this time you have received the lost letter. I am glad that my writings help you and comfort you. If there are any questions for me to answer, you will not hesitate to write them down.

I am not writing separately to your friend and husband. My son Devdas is just now away nursing a relation of mine. I am forwarding your letter to him.

I hope you are receiving *Young India* regularly. If not, please let me know. I am sending you specimen sheets in Urdu and Devanagari.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 14099

14. LETTER TO R. A. HUME

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 13, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter. I do have a vivid recollection of our meeting at the Prevention of Beggary Committee. You have certainly deserved the rest you are giving yourself by going to America. May you have nice time of it there.

I do not believe in Jesus Christ as the only son of God or God Incarnate but I entertain great regard for Him as a teacher of men. I have derived much comfort and happiness from a contemplation of His life and teachings as summarised in the Sermon on the Mount.

Yours sincerely,

REV. R. A. HUME
AMERICAN MARATHI MISSION
WAI
SATARA DISTRICT

From a photostat: S.N. 14100

15. LETTER TO KRISHNADAS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 13, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNADAS,

I have your letter. I want you to continue to write to me regularly.

I agree that it is better for Guruji at the present moment not to be in Calcutta. After all the climate in Calcutta is by no means ideal. His health is a paramount consideration, the completion of your book a subsidiary one and I certainly like the idea of your cooking also for him. A delicate and loving touch makes all the difference in the world when the cooking has to be done for a patient so responsive to environment as Guruji.

I am slowly gathering strength and giving myself complete rest. Subbiah attends to all the English correspondence and

Chandra Shankar now takes down Gujarati dictation. Presently I shall be dictating articles for *Young India* and *Navajivan*. Devdas is still at Deolali. Nobody has heard of Tulsi Maher for over 10 days now. Do you know where he is?

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 14101

16. *LETTER TO SATYANANDA BOSE*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 13, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your very touching letter. But if I try to steal away on to the sea, the consequences that you fear are certain to happen. I have found it utterly impossible to keep any movement of mine a secret and on board I would find myself a prisoner or an animal on show. I must therefore try to go to some cool place where I can ward off visitors and get a little quiet. As it is I am regaining strength slowly. There need be therefore no anxiety.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SATYANANDA BOSE
2/8, DHARMATALA STREET
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 14102

17. *TRUTH* v. *"BRAHMACHARYA"*[1]

A friend writes to Mahadev Desai:

> You will remember that in an article on *brahmacharya* published in *Navajivan* some time ago[2]—translated in *Young India* by you—Gandhiji admitted that he still had bad dreams. The moment I read it I felt that such admissions could have no wholesome effect, and I came to know later that my fear was justified.
>
> During our sojourn in England my friends and I kept our character unscathed in spite of temptations. We remained absolutely free

[1] The original Gujarati article appeared in *Navajivan*, 14-2-1926.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XXIV, pp. 116-9.

from wine, woman and meat. But on reading Gandhiji's article one of the friends exclaimed to me in despair: 'If such is the case with Gandhiji even after his Herculean efforts, where are we? It is useless to attempt to observe *brahmacharya*. Gandhiji's confession has entirely changed my point of view. Take me to be lost from today.' Not without some hesitation I tried to reason with him: 'If the way is so difficult for men like Gandhiji, it is much more so for us, and we should therefore redouble our effort.' —the way Gandhiji or you would argue. But it was all in vain. A character that had been spotless so long was thus bespattered with mire. What would Gandhiji or you say if someone were to hold Gandhiji responsible for this fall?

As long as I had only one such instance in mind, I did not write to you. You would possibly have put me off by saying that it was an exceptional case. But there were more such instances and my fear has been more than justified.

I know that there are certain things which are quite easy for Gandhiji to achieve, and which are impossible for me. But by the grace of God, I can say that something which may be impossible for even Gandhiji may be possible for me. It is this consciousness, or pride that has saved me from a fall, though the admission above-mentioned has completely disturbed my sense of security.

Will you please invite Gandhiji's attention to this fact—especially when he is just in the midst of his autobiography?[1] It is certainly brave to say the truth and the naked truth, but the world and the readers of *Navajivan* and *Young India* will misunderstand him. I fear that one man's meat may be another man's poison.

The complaint does not come to me as a surprise. When Non-co-operation was in full swing, and when during the course of the struggle I confessed to an error of judgment a friend innocently wrote to me:

Even if it was an error, you ought not to have confessed it. People ought to be encouraged to believe that there is at least one man who is infallible. You used to be looked upon as such. Your confession will now dishearten them.

This made me smile and also made me sad. I smiled at the correspondent's simpleness. But the very thought of encouraging people to believe a fallible man to be infallible was more than I could bear.

A knowledge of one as he is can always do good to the people, never any harm. I firmly believe that my prompt con-

[1] This was being published weekly in *Navajivan* from 26-11-1925 and in *Young India* from 3-12-1925.

fessions of my errors have been all to the good for them. For me at any rate they have been a blessing.

And I may say the same thing of my admission about the bad dreams. It would do the world a lot of harm if I claimed to be a perfect *brahmachari* without being one. For it would sully *brahmacharya* and dim the lustre of truth. How dare I undervalue *brahmacharya* by false pretences? I can see today that the means I suggest for the observance of *brahmacharya* are not adequate, are not found to be invariably efficacious, because I am not a perfect *brahmachari*. It would be an awful thing for the world to be allowed to believe that I was a perfect *brahmachari*, whilst I could not show the royal road to *brahmacharya*.

Why should it not be sufficient for the world to know that I am a genuine seeker, that I am wide awake, and that my striving is ceaseless and unbending? Why should not this knowledge be sufficient encouragement to others? It is wrong to deduce conclusions from false premises. It is wisest to draw them from things achieved. Why argue that because a man like me could not escape unclean thoughts, there is no hope for the rest? Why not rather argue that if a Gandhi who was once given to lust, can today live as friend and brother to his wife and can look upon the fairest damsel as his sister or daughter, there is hope for the lowliest and the lost? If God was merciful to one who was so full of lust, certainly all the rest would have his mercy too!

The friends of the correspondent who were put back because of a knowledge of my imperfections had never gone forward at all. It was a false virtue that fell at the first blast. The truth and observance of *brahmacharya* and similar eternal principles do not depend on persons imperfect as myself. They rest on the sure foundations of the penance of the many who strove for them and lived them in their fullness. When I have the fitness to stand alongside those perfect beings, there will be much more determination and force in my language than today. He whose thoughts do not wander and think evil, whose sleep knows no dreams and who can be wide awake even whilst asleep, is truly healthy. He does not need to take quinine. His incorruptible blood will have the inherent virtue of resisting all infections. It is for such a perfectly healthy state of body, mind, and spirit that I am striving. This knows no defeat or failure. I invite the correspondent, his friends of little faith, and others to join me in that striving, and I wish that they may go forward even like the correspondent quicker than I. Let my example inspire those who are behind me with more confidence. All that I have achieved

has been in spite of my weakness, in spite of my liability to passion,—and because of my ceaseless striving and infinite faith in God's grace.

No one need therefore despair. My Mahatmaship is worthless. It is due to my outward activities, due to my politics which is the least part of me and is therefore evanescent. What is of abiding worth is my insistence on truth, non-violence and *brahmacharya* which is the real part of me. That permanent part of me however small, is not to be despised. It is my all. I prize even the failures and disillusionments which are but steps towards success.

Brahmacharya means not merely mechanical celibacy, but it means complete control over all the organs and senses enabling one to attain perfect freedom from all passion and hence from sin in thought, word and deed.[1]

Young India, 25-2-1926

18. KHADI IN GUJARAT

Bhai Lakshmidas sends the following report[2] on the khadi produced in Gujarat under the direction of the Khadi Association as also on other khadi the production of which is within its knowledge.

This report does not include the figures about khadi produced in Kathiawar. If we take them into account, the figure of total production would be still higher. These figures show that the khadi movement is alive and making progress, but they seem poor when we think of the goal we have in view. Even so, if these poor figures represent a vital seed and if that seed is watered properly, it will soon sprout into life. It is strange that the people of Kathlal do not buy locally produced khadi at seven annas a yard, and prefer the so-called mill khadi. The facts should be ascertained through a careful inquiry and the disease cured.

Khadi has a tonic effect but, like nourishing food, it may not please one's taste; its savour lies in its tonic effect. Increased production of khadi will correspondingly increase the vitality of the country and, in any case, will not bring about indigestion.

[1] Translated from *Navajivan* by Mahadev Desai

[2] The report is not translated here.

To the workers in the field the immediate gain may seem too small, but, as a mango sapling yields thousands of mangoes when it grows into a tree, so a patient worker will certainly witness, in the long run, excellent results of his seemingly modest beginning.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 14-2-1926

19. LETTER TO JETHALAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, Phalgun Sud 2 [*February 14, 1926*][1]

BHAI JETHALAL,

I have your letter. The trust-deed has to be made before anything else and this is only proper. If you have a makeshift priest the temple will ever remain makeshift. A nice temple comes only in the wake of a good priest. You should arrive at some final decision in consultation with Bhai Jagjivandas and let me know about it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 11135

20. INTERVIEW WITH SOUTH AFRICAN DEPUTATION

February 14, 1926

Messrs Godfrey, Pather, Mirza and Bhagat, of the South African Indian Deputation, arrived here last night, and saw Mr. Gandhi, this morning, at his Satyagraha Ashram. They discussed with him, for full three hours, the South African situation.

Mr. Gandhi expressed his firm opinion that salvation was only possible if Indians in South Africa had faith in themselves, and a powerful spirit of self-sacrifice. He felt sure that even South Africa would have to submit to world opinion. Mr. Gandhi expressed his willingness to go to South Africa if a necessity arose, but reserved to himself the right to be the judge of that necessity.

The Hindu, 15-2-1926

[1] From the reference to the Ashram trust-deed registered on February 12, 1926

21. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

Monday, February 15, 1926

CHI. MANI,

I have your card. It is time for the clearance. If you both[1] have arrived at some decision, act accordingly. Otherwise we shall all meet and decide what is to be done; I cannot reach a decision here in your absence. You may come now or with Jamnalalji later as it suits you in view of your work at Wardha.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro—4, p. 36

22. LETTER TO A SEEKER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 16, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is difficult to advise without seeing you. Generally speaking the following instructions may be carried out:

To sleep as far as possible in the open air and eat the lightest food, just enough for sustaining the body, never to overload the stomach, and avoid all condiments. If you take pulses at all take them sparingly. Do not take much any fatty or concentrated food. You should take easy exercise daily at least twice a day. Seek the company only of the good. In the absence of such company, read only clean literature. If your health has not much run down, take a cold bath daily. Keep your mind and body continually occupied. Retire to bed early and always get up at 4 o'clock in the morning. Study the *Bhagavad Gita*, *Ramayana* or any other religious book in which you have an abiding faith and contemplate what is said therein. Having done these things, do not think of your marriage and you will find you will be making

[1] Jamnalal Bajaj and the addressee

steady progress. It is in my opinion totally wrong to say that marriage is necessary to enable one to live a clean life.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 14103

23. *LETTER TO S. R. SCOTT*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 16, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1]. You will observe that I have simply relied on my memory of things which happened years ago. But my recollection is vivid. I am totally unable to say whether the thing related at the time in Rajkot was true or not and I have said so in the Chapter[2]. Have I not? The preacher near the High School corner still stands vividly before me harranguing the schoolboys and belittling Hinduism. But it is impossible for me to recall the name of the preacher. I do not think I knew it even when I heard him.

Do you want me to publish your letter in *Young India*? I shall gladly do so if you so desire.

I wish to add that my later experience does not improve the first experience. I have met thousands of Christian Indians. Many of them, if not a majority, I have found to be drinking and eating meat and wearing European clothes. When I have discussed these things with them, they have at least defended their meat eating and their European dress.

The attack upon Hinduism and its gods, I have heard since from many missionaries and read worse things in publications of missionary institutions. At the same time it is a pleasure to me to be able to testify that there is now-a-days and has been for some time a tendency towards toleration of other faiths and a wish on the part of some missionaries for Christian Indians to return to their ancestral simplicity and not despise everything Indian.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 14104

[1] *Vide* "Letter to S. R. Scott", 23-2-1926.

[2] X, "Glimpses of Religion", published in *Young India*, 11-2-1926

24. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 17, 1926

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I have your letter. I know that it is a matter of shame for me to have become ill. I am taking now double precautions. I shall leave no stone unturned to present myself in a fit condition at the end of the year. And, if you have any homœopathic pills that will guarantee an absolute cure and turn me into a youth of 26 instead of an old man of 56, pass those pills on to me and I shall take as many as you want me to every day!

I am so glad Jawaharlal and Kamla are going and with them Swarup and Ranjit. I am not surprised at Krishna not wanting to be left behind. I do hope it will be possible to squeeze her in somehow or other so that she can have as much outing as possible. I expect great results from this trip, not only for Kamla but also for Jawaharlal.

Yes. I did take note of the fact that you were present at the Conference between the Viceroy and the leaders of the two Houses. I am glad that you were one of the party.

If all the Assembly Committees will have to be given up, I very much fear that the Skeen Committee[1] will have to be treated likewise, though the technical distinction that you point out is there, it will not be enough for our purpose. Though personally I dislike the idea of the Skeen Committee having to be given up by you, if it is good to come out of the Councils, it will be necessary to come out of the Skeen Committee.

I should be delighted if you could at all come even for a day during the month. As you thrive on difficulties, I hope that you are keeping perfectly fit and strong.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 14105

[1] Also known as the Indian Sandhurst Committee, appointed in 1925, to consider the starting of a Military College in India; Sir Andrew Skeen was its Chairman.

25. LETTER TO C. V. RANGAM CHETTY

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 17, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1]. Not every man who says I am a Congressman or carries about him a Congress label is a Congressman, but he that carries out the behests of the Congress to the letter and in the spirit; and therefore he, in my opinion, is a Congressman who is an out and out believer in khaddar; who wears khaddar himself not as a makeshift or for show, but with sincerity; who believes in the removal of untouchability and freely associates with the so-called untouchables; who believes in inter-communal unity and translates his belief into practice whenever the occasion demands it; and who believes in the Congress creed of non-violence and truth.

Such a person should command the confidence and the vote, if they have no conscientious objections to voting, of all true Congressmen.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 17-3-1926

26. A LETTER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 17, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I wish your paper many happy returns and with those happy returns more and more insistence on khadi, removal of untouchability, inter-communal unity and strictest observance of Non-violence and Truth. I wonder if the youngster of five years is an object-lesson in Non-violence and Truth!

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 14107

[1] In this letter the addressee had asked Gandhiji as to whom he should help in the coming elections.

27. LETTER TO V. V. DASTANE

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 17, 1926

MY DEAR DASTANE,

I have your letter. Do you want me myself to send 28 letters to the gentlemen whose names you have sent to me or do you want me to send one letter addressed to Sjt. Sumant saying why I have not been able to come? Devdas is not with me. He is at Deolali nursing Mathuradas. It is quite a good idea for a party to tour in the districts which I was to visit and the party can take my message personally. I do not know when Manilal Kothari will return. Appa Saheb wrote to me and I have replied approving of his idea about the Khadi Exhibition. I do not anticipate any difficulty about the proposed grant of Rs. 300.

You can certainly come here to see me by appointment. I am doing a moderate amount of work. You can therefore come whenever you choose to. I await your reply before writing the letter suggested by you.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 14108

28. LETTER TO HAROLD MANN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 17, 1926

DEAR SHRI HAROLD,

I thank you for your note. Do please come on Saturday next. 4 p.m. is the most suitable time for me but if that is not a convenient hour for you, 8 a.m. will equally suit me, also 3 p.m. Will you kindly let me know at what hour I may expect you?

Your letter is dated 12th instant. It was received today and as I see not much time is left between now and the 20th instant I am sending also the following telegram:

"Thanks letter. 8 a.m. or 4 p.m. Saturday would suit."

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 14109

29. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN CHOKSI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, February 17, 1926

CHI. MOTI,

Your letter. Yesterday Najuklal alone wrote. It is good both of you saw Abbas Saheb. Your handwriting is not yet good enough. *Bharuch* could be read only with difficulty; the initial curve of the letter *bha* is broken. The letter *dhi* reads like a *chhi*. The distinction between *pa* and *ya* is not clear. I can cite a number of such instances.

The younger Lakshmi had gone to sleep, but she told me she was doing her hair. So with her consent today I cut her hair with my own hands; now her head looks quite nice and clean. She promises likewise to cleanse her heart.

Lakshmidas left for Vijapur yesterday. He will return today or tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

SAU. SUKANYABEHN
C/o SHRI NAJUKLAL CHOKSI
BHARUCH KELAVANI MANDAL
BROACH

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12116

30. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

Wednesday [February 17, 1926][1]

CHI. RAMDAS,

As for me, I am reciting *Ramanam*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6849

[1] From the postmark in the original document in the National Archives

31. THE TOPIC OF THE HOUR

By the time this is before the public the majority of the South African deputation will be on the waters on their way back to South Africa. Before sailing, Messrs Amod Bhayat, James Godfrey, Pather and Mirza paid me a visit and discussed the situation as it is developing from day to day. They expressed themselves satisfied with the splendid welcome extended to them wherever they went and the support received from all parties in India not excluding European Associations. But they were not, I am glad to say, deceived into any false sense of security by the support. They realized that India was willing but not equally able to help.

The Colour Bar Bill is making steady progress. On principle, it is just as bad as the Asiatic measure and therefore just as open to objection as the latter. Its progress evidences the Union Government's intention and determination about the Asiatic Bill. It is becoming daily clearer that the Union Government intend if possible to stiffen the measure rather than relax it. The proposed amendment of Section 10 gives no relief worth the name and the inclusion of the Cape has roused against the Bill even a section of the South African Press so much that one paper goes so far as to insinuate that it is probably out of spite against Dr. Abdur Rahman's doings in India that the S. A. Government seek to include the Cape in the scope of the Bill. Let us hope that whatever else that Government may be guilty of, it is not guilty of the littleness ascribed to it. Be that as it may, there is no doubt about the mind of that Government. It is this root-and-branch policy that the Indian settlers have to face and combat. They can do so successfully, if they have a strong backing from the Imperial and the Indian Governments. This they will not have. The Indian Government is a shadow of the Imperial. The latter is neither feared nor respected by the present Union Government. On the contrary it fears the Union Government lest South Africa may secede from the Imperial partnership. It is the case of the tail wagging the dog. The Imperial Government would never assert itself against South Africa unless there was fear of losing India. The apparent collapse of non-co-operation has given the Imperial Government a new hope about India's helplessness. At the crucial moment therefore the weight of authority will be thrown on the side of South Africa unless the unexpected hap-

pens this side of the Indian Ocean. The ultimate passing of the Bill, even though it may be postponed for the present session, is thus assured.

What are then our countrymen in South Africa to do? There is nothing in the world like self-help. The world helps those who help themselves. Self-help in this case, as perhaps in every other, means self-suffering, self-suffering means satyagraha. When their honour is at stake, when their rights are being taken away, when their livelihood is threatened, they have the right and it becomes their duty to offer satyagraha. They offered it during 1907 and 1914 and won the support even of the Government of India, indeed the recognition of the Europeans and the Government of South Africa. They can do likewise again if they have the will and the courage to suffer for the common good.

That time is not yet. They must, as they are doing, exhaust every diplomatic remedy. They must await the result of the negotiations the Government of India are carrying on with the Union Government. And when they have explored and tried every other available channel and failed to find a way out, the case for satyagraha is complete. Then it would be cowardice to flinch. And victory is a certainty. No power on earth can make a person do a thing against his will. Satyagraha is a direct result of the recognition of this great Law and is independent of numbers participating in it.

Terms of satyagraha are imperative, admitting of no exception. There should be no violence in any shape or form. There must be an irreducible minimum—a minimum that would commend itself to any reasonable and impartial judge. We may be justly entitled to many things but satyagraha is offered for things without which self-respect, or which is the same thing, honourable existence, is impossible.

They must count the cost. Satyagraha cannot be offered in bravado or as a mere trial. It is a measure of the depth of one's feeling. It is therefore offered because it becomes irresistible. No price is too dear to pay for it, i.e., truth. Success comes when it is least expected. It is undertaken not from a belief in human aid but it is based upon an unquenchable faith in God and His justice. And God is both gentle and hard. He tries us through and through to the last suffering point but He is so gentle as never to test us to the breaking point.

Young India, 18-2-1926

32. *JAILS OR "HOSPITALS"?*

Lord Lytton in recently speaking about jails to the Rotarians of Calcutta, said that just as we send our sick in body to hospitals and not to jails, so must we 'provide moral doctors and moral hospitals' for the sick in mind, i.e., criminals. His Excellency thus introduced his subject:

> The ideal I wish to set before me, stated in the briefest and simplest form, is just this—the substitution of reformation for retribution as the basis of our Penal Code. Punishment can instil fear and enforce habits—it cannot inspire goodness. As a means of moral regeneration, therefore, it is worse than useless and should be abandoned. A morality which is only enforced by pains and penalties is a false morality, and those who would secure the acceptance of moral standards should employ other methods.

Of the uses and limitations of punishments Lord Lytton said:

> Punishment, if resorted to at all, must always be aimed at teaching habits necessary for the well-being of the individual or discipline necessary to the well-being of a community. I do not say that punishment will always succeed; the form of punishment selected in any particular case may be well or badly suited for the attainment of its object. Again, I do not say that punishment is the only way of achieving this object. What I say is that those are the only objects which can be obtained by punishment. The one thing which can never be acquired by coercion is goodness or moral conduct. All punishment therefore which aims at correcting wickedness or teaching goodness is definitely mischievous. Goodness is a condition of mind as health is a condition of the body. Moral defects of character are no more to be cured by punishment than defects of the body. It may be necessary in the interest of health of a community forcibly to segregate a person with an infectious disease; it may be necessary on the same ground to segregate persons whose moral defects are a danger to society; but it would be just as senseless and mischievous to try to cure a man of scarlet fever by shutting him up with a number of persons suffering from measles, tuberculosis or leprosy, as it is to try to cure a man of stealing or cheating by shutting him up with other thieves and cheats.

After this pronouncement one would expect a description of prison reform being attempted or pending in Bengal. Instead, however, H. E. the Governor of Bengal quoted two instances of successful humanitarian effort in England and said:

> You may ask why I have chosen to speak to you about this subject. The reason is that this is work which no Government can do. Governments only hamper and spoil work of this kind by interference, it must be done by those who have the calling.

Having thus absolved his and all governments from responsibility for the much needed reform, he threw it on the broad and "idealistic" shoulders of the Rotarians present.

As an old and experienced prisoner, however, I believe that governments have to begin the reform Lord Lytton will have his hearers to undertake. Humanitarians can but supplement government efforts. As it is, the humanitarian, if he attempted anything, will first have to undo the mischief done in prisons where the environment hardens the criminal tendency, and in the case of innocent prisoners they learn how to commit crimes without being detected. I hold that humanitarian effort cannot cope with the evil wrought in the jails. Lord Lytton must have recognized this patent fact when in his introduction he talked of substituting "reformation for retribution as the basis of our Penal Code". But evidently in winding up his speech he forgot that he had intended his Penal Code to be the basis of reform, and as he realized that he had no reform to show to the credit of his government, wound up by saying that it was no business of governments to attempt the reform.

If, as Lord Lytton correctly put it, punishment must be inflicted purely for protection of society, mere detention should be enough and that too only till the detenus can be fairly presumed to have been cured of their evil habits or securities are found for their good behaviour. There can be no difficulty about a scientific classification of prisoners, apportionment of work from a humanitarian standpoint, selection of better-class warders, abolition of the system of appointing prisoners as warders, and a host of other changes that one might easily suggest.

According to Lord Lytton's own standard, the detention of political prisoners without trial and their reported ill-treatment is wholly wrong. It is to be wished that His Excellency will apply his own admirable tests to the administration of his own jails, and there is no doubt that he will make startling discoveries in the shape of reforms that can be easily attempted by his government far more easily than anything that humanitarians can ever hope to attempt or achieve.

Young India, 18-2-1926

33. 5,000 MILES AWAY

The recent debate in the Assembly over the proposal to appoint two additional judges to the Privy Council for the purpose of hearing Indian appeals has revived the controversy about the location of this final court of appeal. If it were not for the hypnotism under which we are labouring we would see without effort the futility, the sinfulness, of going five thousand miles away to get (or buy?) justice. It is said that at that delightful distance the judges are able to decide cases with greater detachment and impartiality than they would if they had to hear appeals, say in Delhi. The moment the argument is examined it breaks down. Must the poor Londoners have their Privy Council in Delhi? And what should the French and the Americans do? Must the French by arrangement have their final court of appeal in America and the Americans in France? What should we do if India was an independent country? Or is India an exceptional "case" requiring special favoured treatment giving the right of appeal in far off London? Let no one quote in support of the seat of the Privy Council in London the case of the great Colonies. They retain the anachronism out of sentiment. And the movement is on foot in several Colonies to have their final courts of appeal in their own homes. The sentiment in India is the other way. A self-respecting India would never tolerate the location of her final court of appeal anywhere else but in India.

Young India, 18-2-1926

34. PROGRESS OF KHADI

The Secretary, A.I.S.A.[1], has received a letter from the Chittoor District Khadi Board giving valuable information about khadi made from self-spun yarn from September to December 1925. I take the following[2] from that letter:

The value of the information given in the foregoing lies in the fact that the self-spinners include lawyers, graduates, a Municipal Councillor, an M.L.C. and an M.L.A. who perhaps have

[1] The All-India Spinners' Association

[2] Not reproduced here

their clothes made partly or wholly from self-spun yarn, not for the sake of saving money, but for love of the thing. Farmers such as Natha Patel whose story Mahadev Desai relates in another column spin and weave their own yarn predominantly for the sake of saving considerable expenses. As he himself says, his yearly expense for the family was no less than Rs. 250. Thus khadi has both an economic and a sentimental value, both to be equally cherished.

Whilst I can congratulate the organizers and the spinners on their energy and devotion, I am sorry I am unable to endorse the scheme that has been sketched by the correspondent in order to encourage self-spinning. He promises to give as present one towel to every spinner who spins at a recognized club for one hour every day for 30 days, and he promises further to weave the yarn free for those spinners who spin for 90 days at the rate of one hour per day.

I think that if these promises are meant for the class of spinners mentioned in the letter reproduced by me, it is an undesirable temptation. M.L.C.s, M.L.A.s and lawyers may not have their yarn spun free of charge. The whole value of their work at the spinning-wheel is lost if they spin because there is a substantial prize to be obtained at the end of their spinning. Such men should spin for the love of it. The satisfaction of wearing cloth made out of yarn spun by themselves must be its own full reward. Prizes are meant for unwilling spinners. They may also be given to willing spinners who are needy and for whom every pice saved is so much added to their bread and butter.

The idea of giving self-spinners free slivers is really tantamount to encouraging beggary. Why should men who can afford have free slivers, when the yarn spun is to be their own property? Surely, it is enough that they get facilities for spinning and all the attention that may be necessary to make them accomplished spinners. Free slivers can only be given to paupers in order to enable them to earn a living and in order to encourage them to work, because idleness seems at the present moment to be spreading in the nation. What was at one time forced upon us is becoming a vice with us. Let it never be forgotten by khadi workers that the whole plan of khadi is based upon the supposition that there are millions of people living in utter starvation or semi-starvation, and they are so living for want of work either during the whole of the year or at least a third of the year. Therefore every rupee that is spent by Khadi Associations must, so far as it is possible, find its way directly into the

pockets of these starving millions and even then not as a free gift but as an equivalent for some work done.

Young India, 18-2-1926

35. FROM BAD TO WORSE

The Hindu of Madras has the full text of the proposed amendment of the tenth section of the South African Asiatic Bill. I reproduce below the proposed amendment and the original section in parallel columns:

ORIGINAL SEC. 10,
SUB-SEC. 2:

The Governor-General may by proclamation in the *Gazette* declare that from and after a date to be specified therein no member of any race indicated therein shall acquire immovable property or the lease or renewal of lease of immovable property in the Province of Natal, save in the coast belt as provided in sub-section (2) of this section: Provided that nothing in this section contained shall be deemed to prohibit a renewal of a lease of immovable property held under written lease at the commencement of this Act.

THE AMENDED SECTION

The Governor-General may by proclamation in the *Gazette* declare that from and after a date therein specified not being earlier than the first day of August 1925, no person of any class indicated in such a proclamation shall, firstly, anywhere within the Union hire or take over, or, as lessee, renew the lease of any immovable property for a period exceeding 5 years, or, secondly, in the Cape of Good Hope and Natal, acquire any immovable property save for residential purposes in class residential area or for trading purposes in class trading area or for any purpose in class residential and trading area.

A glance even by a lay reader at the original section and the amendment would clearly show that the amendment is infinitely worse than the original. There is not therefore even an attempt at any compromise, but a defiance of Indian opinion, indeed even of the Government of India. This attitude of the Union Govern-

ment is in keeping with the furious agitation which has been engineered against the Asiatics in South Africa.

Young India, 18-2-1926

36. LETTER TO SUPERINTENDENT, LEPER ASYLUM, PURULIA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 19, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your very prompt and exhaustive reply.[1] I am forwarding a copy of it to the friend who is ailing. He is a professor in a college and I know he will feel thankful for the pains you have taken.

Please remember me to Dr. Santra.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 14110

37. LETTER TO A. T. GIDWANI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 19, 1926

MY DEAR GIDWANI,

Here is the copy of the reply from Purulia. I am keeping the original for future use. I think it would be better to try the 2nd remedy. Mr. Sharpe's letter shows how little cause there is for worry. I hope you are otherwise keeping quite fit.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1.

From a microfilm: S.N. 14111

[1] To Gandhiji's letter dated 10-2-1926; *vide* Vol. XXIX.

38. *LETTER TO VINOBA BHAVE*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, February 19, 1926

BHAI VINOBA,

If you too fall ill, how can we find fault with others? Now I need not blame myself. If a life celibate can claim the privilege of falling ill, how much more should one like me claim who am endeavouring to change the mould in which I have been cast? We must both deny ourselves this privilege. He alone is a real celibate who has an adamantine constitution. Is not illness, after all, a sign of some imbalance? I hope you have now recovered completely.

Write to me about Mama's Ashram. 160 yards of yarn are regularly credited to your account as you desired when you left. But from your letter to Purushottam, it would appear that some corrections have to be made. Your average will all the same remain 160. Hence I would not spoil the book by entering petty corrections.

Jamnalalji has arrived today. Kaka will most probably come today or on Sunday. Swami left with the threat of issuing a prohibitory order. If that order has been issued, Kaka will not come. At the moment Balkrishna is reading the *Ishopanishad* to the prayer meeting at 4 o'clock. You may come after the expiry of the time limit.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12182

39. LETTER TO SARDUL SINGH CAVEESAR[1]

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 20, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I am only now able to deal with the arrears of correspondence.

As you have seen, I have said nothing about the release of some of the Gurudwara under-trial prisoners. I know that it was risky because I do not know the under-currents.

The letter that you refer to in the last paragraph of your note of the 27th January I have not yet reached. I am having a search made.

I hope you will keep me informed of things which in your opinion I should know.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 14112

40. LETTER TO JIVANLAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, Phagan Sud 9 [February 20, 1926][2]

BHAISHRI JIVANLAL,

I have got the letter written jointly by Ramjibhai and you as well as those written separately. I must say I am in a way shocked by it. We do not quit our personal work; on the contrary we seek to accomplish it at any cost. We must have a similar attitude towards the philanthropic or religious work which we undertake. Neither of you can therefore throw away the responsibility just by saying so. You have undertaken the work on your own and if you now want to get out of it you can do so only after making proper alternative arrangements. I can understand the difficulty that you both face. I write this only to point

[1] The source does not mention the addressee's name. But *vide* Vol. XXIX, "Letter to Sardul Singh Caveesar", 26-11-1925.

[2] The year is inferred from the entry "Passed on by *Poojya* Bapu to file dated 25-4-1925" found on the letter from the addressee to which this letter is a reply.

out your duty. I had written a letter to you even before I got yours. I still mean what I have written in it. That centre is a liability of the Parishad or the Charkha Sangh or the Khadi Mandal. For the present I have shouldered the responsibility and loaned money from the Ashram. But you should not expect a public institution to return what you have put in. You can ask a public body to take up the responsibility of carrying on the work and insist that henceforth that body should raise its own funds. If eventually it is proposed to wind up the centre you should have the right of pre-emption, and if you do not exercise it, you should be given your share corresponding to your capital investment of Rs. 10,000. Your condition of withdrawing your capital after two years is, I think, not fair. I would not call it unfair if you want to fix a two-year limit to your annual subsidies. But I certainly expect both of you to continue your help to perpetuate the institution which you have nurtured as your own, as long as it functions smoothly. And now that you want to make your own business more paying, I think this centre should particularly benefit from the gain; in fact I may demand this. The Amreli Khadi Centre is the foremost institution of khadi work in Kathiawar. There is much effort behind it, quite an amount has been spent over it and the work can well be regarded as stabilized. There can be no doubt about its utility. With the closure of this centre khadi work in Kathiawar will suffer a major setback.

Let me know what decision you both take after considering all this.

As regards your donations I would advise you to send over the balance to me; I intend to spend it for the *Antyajas* or khadi work. As far as possible I shall certainly not spend it for the building. All the same, I wish you should not bind me regarding this. Since I do not go around myself, I wish to use the funds that are lying with you.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 10893

41. WIDOW REMARRIAGE

A widow writes:[1]

The letter does credit to the correspondent, but her argument does not solve the problem whether widows should have the freedom to remarry. When a child-widow is totally ignorant of any dharma, how can we expect her to understand the dharma of a widow? Living a life of dharma implies an understanding of what dharma means. Can we say that a child who simply does not understand the distinction between right and wrong is guilty of a falsehood? A child-widow of nine years does not understand the meaning of marriage, nor of widowhood. She is, as far as she is concerned, unmarried. How, then, can we say that she has become a widow? She was married by her parents, and it is they who think that she has become a widow. If, therefore, the widow's life earns merit for anyone, it does so for the parents. But can they really earn such merit at the sacrifice of a nine-year old girl? Even if they can, the problem of the girl's future is still with us. Let us suppose that she has grown into a young woman of twenty years. As she gradually came to understand things, she realized from the attitude of the people round her that she was regarded as a widow. But let us suppose she has not understood a widow's dharma, and also that, by the time she was twenty, the natural impulses had grown in her and become strong. What should she do now? She cannot say anything to her parents, for they have already decided that their daughter—a young woman now—was a widow and that marriage was out of the question for her.

This is only an imaginary instance. But there are many Hindu widows in the country, thousands of them, whom this description will fit. As we have seen, they earn merit for none by living as widows. Whom shall we hold responsible for the many sins into which these young women fall in yielding to desire? According to me, their parents certainly share in their sin; but the evil is a blot on Hinduism too, the latter loses its vitality day by day, and immorality flourishes in the name of dharma. That

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had said that she could not understand why Gandhiji advocated freedom for child-widows to remarry, since the life of self-denial which tradition required them to live helped to conquer passion and was, therefore, spiritually uplifting.

is why, though I once held the same views as this sister, I have reluctantly come to the conclusion, through experience, that a child-widow who, on growing up to womanhood, may wish to marry, should have complete freedom, and be encouraged to do so; not only that, her parents should make every effort to get her suitably married. As things are, vices flourish in the name of virtue.

Even if, as suggested here, child-widows are remarried, pure widowhood will continue to adorn Hinduism. If a woman who has known conjugal love, on becoming a widow, deliberately refuses to marry again, her self-control will not have been imposed on her from outside. There is no power on earth which can tempt her to marry. Her freedom is for ever safe.

It is immoral to assume a spiritual union where there has been none. Such a union simply cannot exist between a child-husband and a child-wife. Savitri entered into a spiritual union, so did Sita and Damayanti. We cannot even imagine such women, should they become widows, ever marrying again. Ramabai Ranade lived such a pure life in her widowhood. Today, Vasantidevi[1] lives in this manner. Their virtuous life as widows ennobles the Hindu way of life, sanctifies it. Through the supposed widowhood of girls who are only children, Hindu society sinks lower day by day. Women who became widows after they had grown up into womanhood should, while they continue to live worthily as widows, come forward to help child-widows to remarry and to spread the reform among the Hindus. Other women who share the views of this correspondent should see their error in supposing that dharma can be preserved by perpetuating the misfortune of child-widows. I have been led to this conclusion, not by my sympathy for sufferings of child-widows, but by profounder considerations about dharma which guide my heart in this matter; and I have tried to explain them here.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 21-2-1926

[1] Wife of C. R. Das

42. SILENT SERVICE

That alone is true service which the world comes to know only through its results. A man or a woman dedicated to service never desires publicity for himself or herself. There are persons serving in this spirit at various places in the country. Khadi, too, along with other activities, gets the benefit of such service. Only recently I came to know of one such instance from a letter. Very few people know that some women have been working in Bombay in the field of khadi. Several classes are being conducted under their guidance, and poor women are enabled to earn their livelihood. One such class is being run in the Seva Sadan and 55 girls work there. Another is run in the Congress House, with 65 girls. There are 35 girls in the class at the Saraswat Hall. There is one class in Mazgaon which is attended by Muslim girls. The latter does not mention their number. The classes in the Seva Sadan and Congress House are attended mostly by Parsi girls, and the one in Saraswat Hall by girls from Karnatak. Arrangements are now being made to conduct a class in Bhuleshwar for Gujarati girls. If such work is undertaken in other places too, how many more poor women could we not help with ease?

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 21-2-1926

43. NOTE

"GANDHI SHIKSHANA[1]"

Shri Nagindas Amulakhrai published many years ago a book with this title, with 13 parts and over 2,000 pages. He has arranged in it, subject-wise, such of my writings as he could collect. I have looked through one or two parts and I can get from them an idea of the labour and care he has bestowed on the work. I think that the book will be a help to those who attach some value to my writings. Shri Nagindas did not want to make any profit, and has made none, by publishing this book. A large number of copies still lie unsold with him. The original price of the book was Rs. 8-10-0. He has now reduced it to Rs. 4-10-0 for general readers. But he is ready to send the book—all the

1 Teachings of Gandhiji

13 parts—to hostels, libraries, ashrams and such other public institutions, as also to poor students, on their sending Re. 1 for postage, Rs. 1-8-0 if in a foreign country. Those who would like to have my writings in book form may write to Shri Nagindas Amulakhrai at 6, Sukhadwala Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay-1.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 21-2-1926

44. LETTER TO D. HANUMANTHARAO

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 21, 1926

MY DEAR HANUMANTHARAO,

I have now been given some of the old correspondence for disposal. In this file I find two letters from you which came in January. All these letters have been hitherto withheld from me owing to my illness and convalescence.

I have written to Krishna yesterday regarding the Ashram. Mr. Rustomjee being dead there is nothing coming to us from that source. The fund at the disposal of the All-India Spinners Association has also practically run out. Not therefore until further funds are collected will it be possible to send anything to Krishna. It is a pity but there is no help for it at the present moment.

You have written to me about two friends. I do not know what can be done for them just now. The Ashram is over-crowded at the present moment and I almost fear it will remain so whilst I am here. I am seriously thinking of putting up some more buildings and yet it is a matter for consideration whether it is worth while doing so if I am to remain a fixture at the Ashram only during this year. What is the use of building new rooms just for a temporary purpose? For immediately I am on the move, probably, the new-comers will go away. Will the friends then wait for this year? I know it is a long time but I do not [see] what else I can do. Do you suggest anything? I am not writing anything directly to them but leave you to do what is necessary.

Now about the diet. We, food reformers, have a way of arguing somewhat loosely. I do not think our observations about the [1] of salt on the system are really accurate or in any way

[1] The source has a blank here.

complete. Not that doctors are much better but there are scientists amongst them who have undoubtedly made great researches and the testimony in favour of salt as a necessary article of diet is overwhelming. As it is not producing an evil effect on me, I do not feel justified in revising the advice of those doctors for whom I have very high regard. The spiritual value of abstaining from salt is undoubtedly great and on that account I do not feel inclined to write anything to correct what I had written in my booklet on diet. But as to its effect on the body, my view is shaken. If I was young, I would enforce the desire, such as never thought out in me [*sic*] to study medical science and then support the conclusions that we hold through that science. That, however, must be left to the future reformer. Even as it is, I omit salt very often. But for religious abstention, you will have to give me more convincing arguments than you have done.

Your argument about the sea is surely wrong only because more than three-fourth of the globe is covered over with the unfathomable ocean and you will not gainsay the testimony of science that if we had no sea-water this globe would be uninhabitable. Take Africa—the whole of the belt near the sea which surrounds it on three sides is inhabited and the people are strong, healthy and robust.

I am glad you have silenced the Christian friend. It is sad to think that people unconsciously imagine things to have happened that suit their purpose. When are you going to become strong yourself?

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 14113

45. *LETTER TO REV. CORNELIUS GREENWAY*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
(INDIA)
February 21, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. What I have given you at the top is my permanent address and any remittance you may send to that address will be duly received.

I appreciate your prayers and good wishes of all of which this country stands badly in need.

I do not keep any photograph of mine nor I have given a

sitting for years. All the photographs therefore that you see are snapshots. I wish therefore you will not want one.

Yours sincerely,

REV. CORNELIUS GREENWAY
409, COHAMVET ST.
TAURTON MASS

From a microfilm: S.N. 14114

46. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN CHOKSI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, February 21, 1926

CHI. MOTI,

I have been getting your letters regularly. An occasional irregularity suggests the inconveniences of the household, some of which are inevitable and some you can get over with firmness; this you must do. I still find your handwriting unsatisfactory. Of course I can see some effort in it, but unless you draw your letters like pictures with the help of a copy-book it is not going to improve. I want you to learn this from my experience. You have got to improve your hand. You must not fall ill, and I am hoping too for news of constant improvement in Najuklal's health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12117

47. TELEGRAM TO SORABJEE

[*February 22, 1926*][1]

SORABJI
SAVOY HOTEL
DELHI

YOUR WIRE[2]. MY OPINION SUBJECT PROTEST AND PRESSING ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE. COMMUNITY SHOULD OFFER EVIDENCE ON PRINCIPLE.

GANDHI

From a Microfilm: S.N. 11939

48. LETTER TO S. R. SCOTT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have hitherto refrained from replying to your letter of the 17th instant in the hope that I would hear from you in reply to my letter[3] which I sent you to acknowledge yours of the 12th instant. I thank you for copies of your paper on Gujarati poetry. I like it very much.

In view of my last letter you will please tell me whether you want me to publish your letter[4] of the 12th instant. If you do,

[1] From the addressee's reply of February 23, acknowledging the receipt of it as on the preceding night.

[2] It read: "Pandit Motilal Nehru Maulana Mohomad Ali Mrs. Sarojini Naidu send following cable. 'South African community should not appear before select committee as party or offer evidence on their own behalf but should help Government of India deputation if asked in formulating Indian case on question of principle and procuring such evidence as necessary to elucidate principle alone avoiding all discussion or evidence on details and standing firmly on Round Table Conference.' Do you approve of this? Please reply immediately—Sorabjee Savoy Hotel."

[3] *Vide* "Letter to S. R. Scott", 16-2-1926.

[4] *Vide* "A Repudiation", 4-3-1926.

it will naturally have a foot-note[1] somewhat after the style of my last letter to you.

Yours sincerely,

REV. S. R. SCOTT
MISSION PRESS
SURAT

From a photostat: S.N. 14115

49. LETTER TO NAOROJI KHAMBHATTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday [February 23, 1926][2]

BHAI NAOROJI KHAMBHATTA,

I have your letter. Please convey blessings from us both on the occasion of Chi. Jal's *navjot*[3] ceremony.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6582

50. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN CHOKSI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, February 23, 1926

CHI. MOTI,

Your letter. It is not at all surprising that you remember the Ashram. But you should restrain the desire [to come here]; you will succeed if you try. You have got to forget about the Ashram. The Ashram is always with you so long as its spirit dwells in your heart. It is only his simple-mindedness that Najuklal should speak of leaving you at the Ashram. You should not take advantage of his simplicity. You should benefit from whatever good company you get there, the best of them all is Najuklal's, in his dual capacity of husband and patient. You should always open

[1] *Vide* "A Repudiation", 4-3-1926.
[2] From the source
[3] The sacred thread ceremony of the Parsis

your mind to me as you did this time. I shall ask Velanbehn to write to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

SAU. SUKANYA NAJUKLAL CHOKSI
RASHTRIYA KELAVANI MANDAL
BROACH

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12118

51. LETTER TO GOPABANDHU DAS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I had correspondence with Lalaji about this. He too told that at the present moment he had sufficient funds at his disposal. I think that the balance of the last famine collection can be safely used for charkha work.

I am thinking of sending you an expert adviser of the type you want. It may take a little time to find out the proper man.

I hope you are yourself keeping good health. I am getting stronger day by day. Govindji has not written to me since the Cawnpore Congress. I do not know therefore at the present moment even where he is.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. GOPABANDHU DAS
PURI

From a microfilm: S.N. 14116

52. LETTER TO SUHASINI DEVI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 24, 1926

MY DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. I have to fall back upon dictation as my right hand requires rest and the left hand writing takes up too much time.

Thank you. I am slowly regaining lost strength. I must not give any translation rights as yet. So many publishing houses have written to me from the West and I really do not know what to do. I have no private interest in it and it is a novel experience for me to have to think of even receiving money for anything I have written. But as offers are coming in I have suddenly developed greed and consistently with ensuring accuracy of translation, I want to get as much money as I can for the Spinners Association or some such activity of mine. You will therefore forgive me for not giving you an encouraging reply at the present moment.

I know all about your brother. I wish I could bring him back. But I have no power and as I do not deal with this Government, I cannot even negotiate. I wish we could put up a good fight again and get swaraj and get back all our countrymen who are being detained abroad merely for their love of their country.

By all means do come before you leave India.

Yours sincerely,

SRIMATI SUHASINI DEVI
KENNEDY STREET
LUS, MYLAPORE (MADRAS)

From a photostat: S.N. 14117

53. *GIVE US COTTON*

The following[1] is a vivid description of a visit paid to some of the spinning centres in Bihar by Sjt. Satish Chandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratishthan. It shows in the clearest manner possible what spinning is doing for the humble folks of this great land of ours. Millions of threads spun are like so many rays of sunshine brought into the frigid and dark dungeons miscalled homes of India. The title that Satish Babu has chosen for his description well fits it. This raw product goes to Manchester when our millions are ever crying "Give us cotton". Why? Deft fingers are ready to turn it into warmth-giving yarn for a few coppers but find it difficult to procure it. Thousands of bales of this beautiful stuff are being exported abroad in order to raise the dividends of the huge multi-millionaires who are engaged in exploiting the dumb millions of India. It is up to every lover of the land, at least to see to it that he takes his full share in supplyig cotton to those whom Satish Babu has described. He can do it either by controlling such depots himself or sending his own subscription to the All-India Spinners' Association which will do it for him. And he must be ready to make use of all the khaddar that can be woven out of yarn so spun. He or she may add as many other activities as he or she likes to this primary one.

Young India, 25-2-1926

54. *OUR HUMILIATION*

Dr. Malan's proposal and its final acceptance by the Viceroy make up a bitter cup of humiliation for the nation. The Union Government has given a Select Committee that will take evidence on the principle as well as the details of the Asiatic Bill. Dr. Malan has hedged it in with four conditions: That the Paddison Deputation should be the only party to give evidence before this Committee on behalf of the Government of India; that there should be no other deputation, no "agitator"—this is Dr. Malan's own expression,—sent from India to supplement that evidence; that the Select Committee should report on or before the 1st of March

[1] Not reproduced here

and that the Bill should be taken up for final disposal during the present session of the Union Parliament.

In my opinion, not one of these conditions could be accepted by a free nation. The Paddison Deputation went only to collect facts, and not to negotiate. A far more important deputation would have gone if it had to negotiate and tender evidence. It is insulting to impose a condition that no other deputation should proceed to South Africa. It is still more insulting to insinuate that the Government of India could ever send an agitator to South Africa. The patronizing language used by Dr. Malan regarding the Paddison Deputation only adds injury to insult. The condition that the Select Committee should report before the 1st of March makes it hardly possible for the Government of India or the Indian settlers to collect and marshal all the evidence that can be tendered to show that the principle of the measure is contrary to the settlement of 1914.

The announcement, side by side with that of the appointment of the Select Committee, that the Bill is to be proceeded with during the current session of the Union Parliament, shows that the Union Government has made up its mind regarding what it intends to do and that the appointment of the Select Committee is merely an eye-wash designed to save the face of the Government of India and to hoodwink the world into believing that the Union Government wishes to do nothing unfair. From this so-called concession of the Union Government, therefore, I have no hope of any satisfaction for the doomed settlers. That Government is conscious of its strength and is bent on using all that strength against the settlers. It seems clear that the Government of India will accept the finding of the Select Committee and leave the settlers to their own fate. India in her present state will probably be able to do nothing more than registering another more strong, emphatic and unanimous protest against the action of the Union Government. What then will the settlers do? It is a question that they alone can answer.

Young India, 25-2-1926

55. A STUDENT'S QUESTIONS

A Christian Indian domiciled in Ceylon but at present studying in the United States writes:[1]

> . . . The magazines and papers here have so many different accounts about your actions that I am asking you for the true account for my own information and for that of my American friends.

Though some of the questions put have been already answered in these pages, they are of such general interest that they will bear repetition. His first question is:

> What is your attitude towards the teachings of Jesus Christ?

They have an immense moral value for me, but I do not regard everything said in the Bible as the final word of God or exhaustive or even acceptable from the moral standpoint. I regard Jesus Christ as one of the greatest teachers of mankind, but I do not consider him to be the "only son of God". Many passages in the Bible are mystical. For me "the letter killeth, the spirit giveth life". The second question is:

> Do you believe in caste? If so, what do you consider to be its value?

I do not believe in caste as it is at present constituted, but I do believe in the four fundamental divisions regulated according to the four principal occupations. The existing innumerable divisions with the attendant artificial restrictions and elaborate ceremonial are harmful to the growth of a religious spirit, as also to the social well-being of the Hindus and therefore also their neighbours. The third question is:

> Is it your desire that India should be given Dominion status within the British Empire or that she should be given full independence and sever all connection from Britain? If the latter is your desire, what system of government have you in view to take the place of the British system?

I should be quite satisfied with Dominion status within the British Empire, if it is a reality and not a sham. I have no desire to sever all connection with Britain for the sake of it; but if I had the power, I should without a moment's delay end the present unnatural and false position as it interferes with the fullest growth of the nation. The only connection therefore with Britain

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

that I would desire and value is that of an absolutely free and equal partnership at will. If, however, the connection is broken, India will naturally have a system of democratic government suited to the genius of the people. It will be shaped not according to one man's wishes but to those of a multitude. The fourth question is:

What is your attitude towards the Indian States and their Rulers?

My attitude towards the Indian States and their Rulers is that of perfect friendship. I desire a radical reform in their constitution. The condition in many States is most deplorable, but reform has to come from within and it is a matter for adjustment between the Rulers and the subjects, save for such pressure as is bound to be exerted upon them by the expression of enlightened public opinion in their neighbourhood. The fifth question is:

Do you favour the idea of a United States of India on the lines of the U.S.A.?

The analogy is dangerous. What seems to answer in the United States may not in India. But subject to that caution, I suppose the final constitution would be a free and healthy union amongst the different provinces to be formed on a linguistic basis. The sixth question is:

Many articles in these papers here say that you have differed from Dr. Tagore in many matters and have been estranged from him. Is that true? If so, what matters have caused the disagreement?

I have not differed from Dr. Tagore in *many* matters. There are certainly differences of opinion between us in some matters. It would be strange if there were none. But there is not only not the slightest estrangement between us on that or any other account, but the most cordial relations have always existed and continue between us. Indeed the friendship between us is all the richer and truer for the intellectual differences between us. The seventh question is:

What are you doing in India just now? Have you given up political leadership and politics?

At the present moment I am enjoying what may be called well-earned rest, and at the same time trying to develop the working of the All-India Spinners' Association which is at present the only all-India activity that engages my attention. My political leadership technically ended with the closing of the year for which I was President of the Congress, but in reality it ended with my incarceration. But I have not given up politics in my sense of the

term. I never was a politician in any other sense. My politics concern themselves with internal growth but being of a universal nature they re-act upon the external in a most effective manner. The eighth question is:

> I find a good deal of colour prejudice prevalent here, and at times we have to undergo many hardships on account of our colour. What would you advise me to do in such cases? Am I justified in writing home and telling them about it? Or am I justified in telling the United States people themselves whenever I get an invitation to speak in public?

My advice is: Having gone there live down the prejudice, but resist unto life wherever it hurts your self-respect in any shape or form. Hardships must be the lot of those who have to live in an uncongenial atmosphere and who will still retain their self-respect. You are certainly justified in writing about it anywhere so long as you do so without bitterness and without exaggeration. It would be the most proper thing to tell in a dignified manner the people of the United States of the hardships whenever you get an opportunity. The ninth question is:

> Would you please send me a small message for the students here? They are as a rule very fine men and are preparing to devote their lives to Y.M.C.A. work.

If you mean Indian students, my humble advice is: Express the best that is in you in that far off foreign land, so that your lives may be an example to your neighbours. Do not slavishly follow all that you see in the West. And as you seem to be speaking on behalf of Christian students, I feel tempted to quote from the Bible: "Seek thee first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and everything will be added unto you."

Young India, 25-2-1926

56. *IN MITIGATION*

I gladly publish the following from a German friend:

> Last year, you published in *Young India* several articles on or letters from Germany which needs must give wrong impressions as to the situation in our country. I intend to set right any false information about our country, though I am convinced you won't have got a contemptuous opinion concerning the German nation. I hope you will endorse a statement of C. F. Andrews writing to me on the 10th of July 1925: "I believe that India and Germany may meet on the basis of pure idealism;

more closely than any other nations of the world." And in all humility I should like to give some remarks[1], for your information, on the above mentioned articles.

The writer is right in feeling assured that I can have no contemptuous opinion about Germans or Germany. Who can dare? Germans are a great and brave people. Their industry, their scholarship, and their bravery command the admiration of the world. One hopes that they will lead the peace movement. They were defeated in the last War, not vanquished. All that is needed is a transmutation of their marvellous energy for the promotion of the progress of the world as a whole, rather than its application for their own as against that of the whole world. There are signs of that desirable change coming over them as over the other peoples of the earth.

Young India, 25-2-1926

57. *LETTER TO K. SRINIVASAN*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 25, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am glad that the history of my life appeals to you and is helpful. I could endorse your opinion that these inner experiences of mine are far more valuable than the tremendous political activity in which I have found myself throughout my life. Such value as that activity possesses is derived from the inner experiences which I am endeavouring to recall and relate as accurately as it is possible for one to do. I am trying to bring out every weakness and to show also how the weakness was overcome.

I do hope that you will give more attention to your spinning than you seem to have done. As you are a scientist I need hardly draw your attention to the well-established experience of the world that whatever is worth doing, is worth doing as well as it is possible for us to do. Many of us who are spinning find it simple enough to spin 300 yards at least per hour provided the wheel is

[1] Not reproduced here

kept in order and the slivers are good. The highest speed attained is 900 yards per hour.

Yours sincerely,

K. SRINIVASAN
DEPARTMENT OF ELECTRICAL TECHNOLOGY
INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE
HEBBAL, P. O. BANGALORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 14076

58. LETTER TO C. SRINIVASA ROW

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 25, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You have put me a most difficult question: Whether asking for Government recognition or financial assistance from the Government for your institution is a moral sin or not is a question solely for you or the management to decide. For one whom there is no consciousness of sin in a matter of this character there is no sin. A stranger's opinion therefore is of no value in determining the nature of the act proposed.

For my own self, if I were you, I could not possibly ask for Government recognition or assistance. And, if thereby the students desert me, I should not feel sorry[1] because of the consciousness of the rightness of my abstention. Whether your acceptance will be a political blunder or not is a question on which an outsider can give an opinion. In terms of the Congress resolutions and the present tendency of Congressmen in general, it will not be a political blunder. In the sense that an institution that has hitherto refused to bend before the storm might now feel impelled to bend, does really add to the already existing weakness. On the whole, however, you must regard my opinion as purely an academic opinion. You must therefore decide according to the inner promptings of your conscience and nobody would have the right to point the

[1] The source has: "should feel no sorry".

finger of scorn if you decide to take Government assistance. You must fearlessly do what you consider to be right.

Yours sincerely,

C. SRINIVASA ROW, ESQ.
ANDHRA JATHEEYA KALASALA
MASULIPATAM

From a photostat: S.N. 14118

59. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

February 25, 1926

Since Devdas is not here, Mahadev has obviously more work to do. Friendship does not mean service at your own convenience. If he cannot go over there Mahadev should bear the inconvenience on account of Devdas's absence. As for Devdas he has nothing to lose if his stay there is prolonged. Only through service comes spiritual elevation.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 84

60. LETTER TO DAHYABHAI M. PATEL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Thursday [February 25, 1926][1]

BHAI DAHYABHAI,

I have gone through your articles on election of a chamar[2] to the municipal body. I am afraid their publication is likely to do more harm than good to the cause of the untouchables. I have therefore dropped the idea of publishing them. In my opinion the best remedy is to let the public fury subside gradually through silence and peace on your part. Please let me know if you have anything more to say in this regard.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SHRI DAHYABHAI MANOHARDAS PATEL
DHOLKA

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 2694. Courtesy: Dahyabhai Patel

[1] From the postmark

[2] Member of the caste dealing in hides and skins

61. LETTER TO PRATAPSIMHA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Phagan Sud 13, 1982 [February 25, 1926]

KUMARSHRI PRATAPSIMHAJI,

Shri Devchandbhai Parekh, Sheth Devidas Ghevaria and some others have come here. In consultation with them we have provisionally decided among ourselves that, if the State has no objection, the next year's session of the [Kathiawar] Political Conference be held at Porbunder. The main difficulty in holding it there this year is that I cannot attend it on account of my resolve[1]. And the gentlemen who have gathered here and myself are of the opinion that so long as the new form that the conference has adopted at its Bhavnagar session is not stabilized, my presence would prove helpful. I shall not hesitate to preside over the session if it helps the conference moving forward.

We have unanimously asked Sheth Devidas to accept the presidentship of the Reception Committee. First, the country is very much in need of workers. Sheth Devidas likes to work and also has faith in the wheel and khadi. This is why we chose him. Of course, under the rules the final decision rests with members of the Reception Committee. I have learnt from Devchandbhai that the Hon'ble Ranasaheb also has no objection to holding the session at Porbunder. All the same I shall be obliged if you will kindly ask the Hon'ble Ranasaheb to further clarify his attitude and let me know his views.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: Reel No. 20. Courtesy: Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, New Delhi

[1] To stay in the Ashram for one year

62. LETTER TO A. ARUNACHALAM PILLAI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 26, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your telegram as also your letter. Doctor Naidoo telegraphs to me emphatically denying that any violence was used by the satyagrahis. On the contrary, he complains of violence on the part[1] of those who oppose the use of public roads near temples by the so-called untouchables.

If you have any proof of violence used by satyagrahis, I would gladly enquire into it. Your letter consists merely of unsupported allegations. I am forwarding your letter to Doctor Naidoo however for reply.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. A. ARUNACHALAM PILLAI
SUCHINDRAM
NAGARCOIL POST
SOUTH TRAVANCORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 14074

63. LETTER TO DR. NAIDOO

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 26, 1926

DEAR DR. NAIDOO,

Here is a letter from a *savarna* Hindu. I have written in reply saying that you totally deny any violence having been committed by any satyagrahi. Will you kindly let me have your reply to the allegations contained in the letter?

Yours sincerely,

DR. NAIDOO
NAGARCOIL
SOUTH TRAVANCORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 14075

[1] The source has: "violence from on the part".

64. DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON N. W. F. PROVINCE[1]

[*February 27, 1926*]

(a) Resolved that any reforms or compromise that might be accepted by the Congress or Swaraj Party shall apply to the N.W.F. Province as an integral part of British India and in the same sense as to the regulation provinces.

(b) That no reform or compromise shall be accepted by the Congress or the Swaraj Party which does not apply to the N.W.F. Province as an integral part of British India and in the same sense as to the regulation provinces.

The Hindustan Times, 19-3-1926

65. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

[*February 27, 1926*]

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I have shown you M.[2] Shaffi's letter. Please tell him and other Mohammedan friends that in my opinion it would be wrong for the Swarajists to support the tabled resolution about the N.W.F. Provinces. At the same time I should support any proposal to include these Provinces in any scheme of self-government that the Congress ultimately agrees to. To that end I have suggested to you two draft resolutions which I hope the Mussalman friends will accept. If no agreement can be reached I feel that your embargo upon voting by the Swarajist members is the only dignified course.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindustan Times, 19-3-1926

[1] In a statement, clarifying the attitude of the Swaraj Party on the North West Frontier Province resolution moved by Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur in the Central Assembly, Motilal Nehru released these for publication, stating that when he visited Gandhiji on 27th February at Sabarmati, "Mahatmaji dictated to me these resolutions. . . . and also gave me a letter in his own hand."

[2] Mahommad

66. "*SUTRA-YAJNA*"[1]

Various are the forms which sacrifice takes; some are inspired by altruistic and some by selfish motives. Some hope to gain something for themselves by performing a sacrifice in which others suffer, while some others believe that one can perform a sacrifice only by oneself suffering, that is, through one's own labour. One such sacrifice was recently completed by Shri Zaverbhai, the head of the Kumar Mandir at Varad. Writing about it, he says:[2]

It is no ordinary thing to spin nearly 12 lakh yards of yarn in 12 months, that is, nearly 3,500 yards a day. For a person who maintains a speed of 400 yards an hour it takes between 8 and 9 hours to spin 3,500 yards. Devoted work at the wheel for so many hours a day and all through a whole year must be regarded as a *maha-yajna*[3]. "I am a seeker after self-realization", says Shri Zaverbhai in his letter, "and I would make any sacrifice in the world to achieve it". I compliment Shri Zaverbhai for his selfless work and wish that he will continue to perform such sacrifice. If, keeping this example before us, we give even half an hour every day to spinning, how much would the country benefit! In his letter Shri Zaverbhai has also corrected me in one particular. He says that in the note in *Navajivan* about his work last year it was stated that he had spun 3 lakh yards of yarn of 6 counts, whereas in fact it was of about 20 counts and weighed 18 seers. I regret the error.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 28-2-1926

[1] "Yarn-sacrifice"

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent gave particulars of the quantity and the quality of yarn which he had, with the help of his wife and sister-in-law, produced in one year.

[3] Great sacrifice

67. *ROYAL DISPLEASURE*

The papers say that King George visited the Industrial Exhibition now being held in England. There, in a section exhibiting English-manufactured typewriters, he noticed a government employee typing letters on an American typewriter. The King was angry at this and asked why, if English-manufactured typewriters were in demand outside England, they in England used American typewriters. The officer-in-charge promised to inquire into the matter and tried to pacify the King. But the latter would not be pacified and said that he himself would inquire. The manufacturer of the English typewriter stated that, if his typewriters were introduced in government offices in England, he could certainly provide employment for one more person for every typewriter bought. Commenting on the incident, British newspapers say that, where the House of Commons has been helpless, the King's firmness and displeasure will have some effect.

We may perhaps feel that England, which exports her goods to all countries in the world, has no justification for resenting the use of American typewriters. If, however, we look at the matter from the King's point of view, his displeasure will seem justified. It was argued in defence that American typewriters were being used in government offices because of their superior quality. But the King, a shrewd man, saw that one should not reject a local product because a foreign article is better. Maybe it is, but the right place for it is the country of its manufacture. If we can, we may try to imitate it, but failing in that we should be satisfied with what we can manufacture. This argument must have immediately occurred to the King. Be that as it may, there is much that we can, if we would, learn from this incident. At the most a thousand American typewriters must be in use in government offices [in England]. If they are replaced by English manufactured typewriters, one thousand Britons could be employed as claimed by the manufacturer of the typewriters. In our country, however, if we show the same shrewdness and patriotism as King George did and are as much displeased with ourselves, we could feed not one thousand but crores of our starving countrymen. The thing with which we can do this is khadi. If, without making any special effort for the purpose, we effect some intelligent economy and start using khadi, merely through this change every man and woman would save for the country the equivalent

of one person's earnings for a month. For, the average annual expenditure on cloth per head comes to Rs. 8, out of which not less than Rs. 5 is the cost of labour. Crores in our country do not get even that. The annual per capita income in India is put at Rs. 30. This was the estimate 30 years ago. Having regard to the rise in prices, the figure is put at Rs. 40 now. In that case, the figure of annual expenditure [on cloth] must also be raised correspondingly. There is no harm, therefore, in accepting the figure of Rs. 30 even for calculations today. But no matter what figure we accept, five rupees is certainly more than the average monthly earnings of one person. For doing all this good and earning the moral merit which accrues from it, people have only to change their ideas, or even less than that, their taste. English or mill-made cloth, pleasing to the eye and soft to the touch, will always be inferior to the khadi woven by the poor from yarn spun by the poor.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 28-2-1926

68. *WHAT IS EDUCATION?*

The English word 'education' etymologically means 'drawing out'. That means an endeavour to develop our latent talents. The same is the meaning of *kelavani*, the Gujarati word for education. When we say that we develop a certain thing, it does not mean that we change its kind or quality, but that we bring out the qualities latent in it. Hence 'education' can also mean 'unfoldment'.

In this sense, we cannot look upon knowledge of the alphabet as education. This is true even if that knowledge gains us the M.A. degree or enables us to adorn the place of a Shastri[1] in some *pathshala*[2] with the requisite knowledge of Sanskrit. It may well be that the highest literary knowledge is a fine instrument for education or unfoldment, but it certainly does not itself constitute education.

True education is something different. Man is made of three constituents, the body, mind and spirit. Of them, spirit is the one permanent element in man. The body and the mind function on account of it. Hence we can call that education which

[1] Teacher
[2] Indigenous school

reveals the qualities of spirit. That is why the seal of the Vidyapith carries the dictum 'Education is that which leads to *moksha*[1]'.

Education can also be understood in another sense; that is, whatever leads to a full or maximum development of all the three, the body, mind and spirit, may also be called education. The knowledge that is being imparted today may possibly develop the mind a little, but certainly it does not develop the body and spirit. I have a doubt about the development of the mind too, because it does not mean that the mind has developed if we have filled it with a lot of information. We cannot therefore say that we have educated our mind. A well-educated mind serves man in the desired manner. Our literate mind of today pulls us hither and thither. That is what a wild horse does. Only when a wild horse is broken in can we call it a trained horse. How many 'educated' young men of today are so trained?

Now let us examine our body. Are we supposed to cultivate the body by playing tennis, football or cricket for an hour every day? It does, certainly, build up the body. Like a wild horse, however, the body will be strong but not trained. A trained body is healthy, vigorous and sinewy. The hands and feet can do any desired work. A pickaxe, a shovel, a hammer, etc., are like ornaments to a trained hand and it can wield them. That hand can ply the spinning-wheel well as also the ring and the comb while the feet work a loom. A well trained body does not get tired in trudging 30 miles. It can scale mountains without getting breathless. Does the student acquire such physical culture? We can assert that modern curricula do not impart physical education in this sense.

The less said about the spirit the better. Only a seer or a seeker can enlighten the soul. Who will awaken that dormant spiritual energy in us all? Teachers can be had through an advertisement. Is there a column for spiritual quest in the testimonials which they have to produce? Even if there is one, what is its value? How can we get through advertisements teachers who are seekers after self-realization? And education without such enlightenment is like a wall without a foundation or, to employ an English saying, like a whited sepulchre. Inside it there is only a corpse eaten up or being eaten by insects.

It is and should be the ideal of the Gujarat Vidyapith to impart this three-fold education. Even if one young man or woman

[1] Freedom from phenomenal existence as the goal of life

is brought up in conformity with this ideal, I shall regard the Vidyapith's existence as worth while.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, Education Supplement, 28-2-1926

69. SPEECH AT WEDDING, SABARMATI

February 28, 1926

I am happy that all of you, brothers and sisters, have taken the trouble to come all the way here to give your blessings to Rameshwar Prasad and Kamla[1], and I thank you for it. I thank you because you have shown that you do not consider this an ordinary wedding. Among Hindus there is a great deal of ostentation at weddings. There is singing, dancing, feasting and a variety of other diversions. The spiritual element, which indeed makes the ceremony meaningful, gets lost sight of. Money is spent on such a scale that, for poor people, getting married has become an arduous business. Many incur debts which they are unable to pay up in their lifetime. To expect that such marriages will enable the bride and the bridegroom to tread the path of dharma is mere wishful thinking. It is not easy to lead a life of self-control after a ceremony in which there is so much pomp and so much evil which the parents on either side do all they can to foster. The ideal of this Ashram is the practice of *brahmacharya* even by married couples, and some of us do follow this ideal. The children are also given instruction in *brahmacharya*. And yet a marriage takes place at the Ashram and under its auspices. Why? Well, we were faced with a moral dilemma and this is what we did. Those who follow ahimsa use force against no one. Those among the Ashram inmates who cannot practise *brahmacharya* must therefore marry as a matter of duty. And why should we not bless them while they do this duty? And why should we not, again, introduce an improved ritual? Indeed it is our duty to do so. When I reflected on the matter it was clear to me that all over India, indeed all over the world, the ritual of marriage includes an element of self-control. Marriage is not intended for satisfying lust. It is laid down in the *smritis* that couples who exercise self-control live in *brahmacharya*. I myself did not understand this for a long time. But after a great deal of thought I

[1] Daughter of Jamnalal Bajaj

was able to grasp the truth of it. Those who cannot entirely destroy passion can at least keep it in check by leading a life of self-control. You all know my standing with Jamnalalji. We both decided that we should have this wedding performed in the simplest manner possible and at the least expense, and the ritual should be such as to impress upon both the young people the real meaning of marriage. It is not easy effectively to dispense with pomp, feasting and singing and dancing in a marriage ceremony. If the wedding were to take place in Bombay it would be a lesson to the Marwari community and Jamnalalji's friends. It would help destroy the *adharma* that passes for reforms. It would be an example of what real dharma consists in. But I was afraid it might not be possible to have the ceremony performed as simply in Bombay as here. I shall not go into my reasons for that fear. So I rejected Wardha as well as Bombay as the venue. Then how to see the thing through? The wishes of Jamnalalji and his parents would not be enough. It was necessary also to consult Rameshwar Prasad's people. God was, however, kind and Keshavdevji also agreed. The Marwari community has a lot of money and they spend it lavishly. So much, in fact, that the poorer sections find weddings a great strain and burden. There are floral decorations, feasting, lighting and dancing by professional dancers. I am not sure whether there is such dancing among the Marwaris but in Gujarat this is so among certain wealthy people. It has its effect on the Marwaris and on the entire Hindu society of which they are a part and even on Muslims and other communities. I concede that the effect on these latter communities is somewhat less. So you can imagine under what a great burden the rich have to labour. Of course, I have nothing to say about those among the rich who are solely given to amassing wealth and have, in their pride, forgotten God. The Marwaris have money. And in spite of some prevalent corrupt practices, they love dharma. I know this only too well. Every year they spend lacs of rupees for the sake of dharma. This too I know from experience. So we both decided that the marriage ceremony should take place in the simplest manner possible. It is thus we could meet the demands of both *swartha*[1] and *paramartha*[2]. *Swartha* consisted in thinking of the good of Jamnalalji and Keshvdevji, Rameshwar Prasad and Kamla, while *paramartha* lay in showing a path to others. There

[1] Self-interest, one's own welfare
[2] Transcendent good; here altruism

will be no singing and dancing. Only the barest ritual as sanctioned by religious usage will take place. You friends have been invited so that you will witness the ceremony, approve of it and pledge yourselves to follow the example. Maybe I am here mistaken and you may perhaps not like to follow this example. The few rich men who live in India do not make it a rich country. It is the country of the poor. In no other country in the world do so many people die of starvation or become diseased and dehumanized by perpetual hunger. In saying this I repeat the statements of historians, not Hindu or Muslim historians but historians belonging to the governing race. Even the millionaires of such a poor country have not the right to do a thing that would hurt the stomach of the poor. After all, the rich earn their wealth in India; they do not bring it from outside the country—though even then it would be sin to earn money through inflicting misery upon people in foreign countries. The millionaires and multi-millionaires living in India only make the poor poorer. There are seven lakh villages in India. Many of them are being slowly destroyed. Their blood is being sucked. The result is that many who cannot manage to get even one meal a day die of starvation. Human beings as well as cattle starve to death in this country. In the circumstances the rich must spend on themselves only as much money as is absolutely necessary according to dharma. The rest should be spent on the welfare of others, to the benefit of both the poor and the rich. If we view this wedding from this angle, it is an event worth emulating. It is no ordinary reform. Its roots go deep. Its result will also be good. If a poor man acts in this manner he can of course do so without effort but it will not have the same effect. Jamnalalji could have thrown away ten, twenty, even fifty thousand rupees. His fellow Marwaris would only have praised the splendour of the wedding. But though he had the money, he did not spend it. He gave up his right. The result of this is bound to be good. It is said in the *Gita* that what great men do others also do. It is a valid and proven dictum. I am obliged to you all and I again thank you. You will give your blessings to Rameshwar Prasad and Kamla. It will be good if others follow this example. If they do, it will be a service to dharma and the country. I know both Rameshwar Prasad and Kamla are here. They both have mature understanding. Rameshwar Prasad certainly has it and Kamla too has reached the age when she is treated as a friend by her parents. They will both realize that with all the trouble that their parents have

taken, with all the trouble all these people have taken to come here and witness this wedding, it is not to be taken as a licence for satisfying their lust. They must not become slaves to passion. All this is being done so that they may become an ideal couple, may dedicate themselves to a higher ideal. Even in *grihasthashrama* there is scope for conquering passion. Shastras of course say that union is permitted only when progeny is desired. We have forgotten this; and no one has reminded us of it. I wish to make it clear to Rameshwar Prasad that the wife is not the slave of the husband. She is his better half. She must be treated as a friend. Rameshwar Prasad must never even in his dream consider Kamla as a slave. Among Hindus there still are people who treat their wives as their property. These two young persons are entering a new life. I have said on a former occasion that marriage is a second birth. May this couple reach the ideal of Shiva-Parvati, Savitri-Satyavan and Sita-Rama. Hinduism gives such a high place to women that we say Sita-Rama not Rama-Sita; we say Radha-Krishna not Krishna-Radha. But for Sita no one would know Rama. No one would have heard the name of Satyavan if there had been no Savitri. The Pandavas would have remained unknown if there had been no Draupadi. We need not search for examples. I am sure that this event will bear good fruit, and I will have no occasion to regret my part in it. I have still some years to live and I would walk in fear of God. Whatever I do, I do after consulting my inner being. My inner being says that this will be an ideal couple and will give us no cause to repent. I now bless them both and wish them a long life. May they bring credit to their elders and may they support dharma and serve the country.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 4-3-1926

70. LETTER TO J. B. PETIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 2, 1926

DEAR MR. PETIT,

I have your letter. I have received two cables almost in the same language as that of the cable received by you. I do not attach much importance to these cables. Hence it was that I did not forward them to you.

There is a great deal of bickering going on at present in South Africa amongst our countrymen. The community is cut up into so many groups. Mr. Andrews' presence there is a godsend.

The South African Indian Congress is an amalgamation of several associations. The Natal Indian Congress is a body representing a section of Indians in Natal. The British Indian Association is an association representing Transvaal Indians.

My advice at the present moment is that you should ignore the cables received and at the same time not pay the balance of the amount sanctioned till you have received a proper account regarding the Rs. 39,500 already paid.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 11944

71. LETTER TO LAJPAT RAI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 2, 1926

DEAR LALAJI,

You will forgive me for not replying to your letter earlier. The fact is that I am supposed to work only for a limited time every day and as Panditji[1] was here when your letter was received almost all the time at my disposal was given over to him. The correspondence was therefore held up.

Though your letter was marked private, I used my discretion and showed it to Panditji in order that I might discuss

[1] Motilal Nehru

the various important matters to advantage. I felt that he should know your views whilst we were discussing subjects of common interest.

I sent you a telegram yesterday saying that it was not possible for me to give you a decision regarding the delegation to the International Labour Conference. I should have much hesitation about your acceptance of the delegation if the All-India Congress Committee embarked upon the modified Council boycott contemplated during the last session of the Congress.

All my views about what the A.I.C.C. should do at the present moment have been clearly put before Panditji. I do not therefore reiterate them here. Technically the delegation may not be covered by the Congress resolution, but if you vacate your seats in the Councils, it seems to me to be hardly dignified to accept the delegation or any such nominations to Committees or Conferences in which the Government may be concerned. How nice it would have been, if you could possibly have come whilst Panditji was here!

I have watched with greatest pain the progress of the Frontier Province resolution. I have given my own opinion upon the matter to Panditji to be shown to all concerned.

Motilalji told me that there were no resignations except that one was threatened, one was compelled and one was withdrawn.

I am destroying your letter. Do please come even now whenever you get the time, but give yourself at least 2 or 3 days so that we might talk at leisure. And whether you go to the Labour Conference or not, it would certainly be nice if you had a voyage and rest in some quiet place pleasing to you. I do not find much in your idea of combining political work with rest and, as I do, you will throw yourself in the work and have no rest. If you go at all therefore there should be a sacred resolution extorted from you that you will not do any political work at all but merely rest and be thankful.

Yours sincerely,

LALA LAJPAT RAI
DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 19341

72. *LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI*

March 2, 1926

Devdas is prepared to stay there till you recover your health. He does not think this will anyway hamper his growth. I for my part have never believed that service ever interferes with anybody's progress. Learning and the like are but means to an end, whereas service is almost an end in itself. No one has ever attained *moksha* by means of learning whereas many a soul did and does attain its salvation through service. Of course this is hard to understand and harder to practise. But then who says *moksha* is easy to attain?

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, pp. 84-5

73. *LETTER TO A. A. PAUL*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I should love to go to China but I do not know that I can be of much service to the Chinese friends. However, will you please let me know who Mr. T. Z. Koo is and where I am expected to go and how long I am expected to give to the proposed visit?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

A. A. PAUL, ESQ.
7, MILLER ROAD, KILPAUK
MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 11363

74. LETTER TO MOHAMMED SHAFEE

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 3, 1926

DEAR SHAFEE SAHEB,

I received your letter whilst Pandit Motilalji was here. I showed it to him and discussed it with him. I showed your letter also to Rajendra Babu. I have no doubt that the Frontier Province should have the same treatment as any other province but as Congressmen we may not ask for the extension of reforms which we condemn as wholly unsatisfactory and inadequate.

I have written to Motilalji a letter which he must have shown to you and other friends. It conveys fully my opinion about this unfortunate trouble.

Yours sincerely,

MAULANA MOHAMMED SHAFEE
DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 19342

75. LETTER TO GOPALDAS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Phagan Vad 4 [*March 3, 1926*]

BHAI GOPALDAS,

I have your letter. Fasting is not a universal panacea. I am sure, it is by no means going to cure your disease now. Do not at all think that you are weak and a victim of bad habits. Be ever cheerful. You should retire in time and get up early in the morning. You need not bother about your wife if she would not listen to you. If she is not amenable to gentle persuasion let her go her own way. If you do not deviate from your path nor start nagging, she may realize yours is the better way and may go with you. And do not take it to heart if she does not. Now, do we not remain calm when a sister, mother, a brother or a friend refuses to agree with us? It is our infatuation that we cannot have this attitude towards our wife. Rid yourself of this infatuation.

Keep your diet simple. Give up chillies and the like. If you are not used to cold water baths, cultivate this habit. And recite *Ramanama* with faith so as to be free from evil thoughts, bad dreams and the like. If possible carefully go through the eleventh chapter of the *Bhagavata* and meditate on it.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 10608

76. NOTES

FOR JUVENILES

Owing to the repeated requests of young friends under 18 years to become members of the All-India Spinners' Association, the Council has passed a resolution, at its last meeting, permitting boys and girls under 18 years who are habitual wearers of khaddar to become members upon sending 1,000 yards per month of their own spinning. The idea is to encourage boys and girls to cultivate regularity, and to establish a moral bond between themselves and the poorest in the land. And this inestimable advantage is gained apart from the art of spinning being a training for the eye and fingers.

Youths who wish to become members will be expected to spin daily for at least half an hour and if they will set apart a particular half-hour for the purpose, they will find that it will induce a regularity in all other studies and work that they may undertake. They will be expected to keep their wheels in perfect order, learn to repair them and learn also the art of carding and making their own slivers. All these processes take up very little time, that is, for those who love their work.

For schoolboys and girls, I recommend not the spinning-wheel but the *takli*. It has been ascertained that the *takli* enables one easily to spin 80 yards per hour. Spinning on the *takli* at the rate of half an hour daily gives one the required monthly subscription of 1,000 yards.

I hope therefore that many boys and girls will register themselves as members, subject to the permission of their parents or guardians. So far as schools are concerned, it will be saving of postage if schoolmasters will take charge of the yarn that may be spun and make one parcel taking care to attach cards to the quantity spun by each boy or girl. The parcels should be ad-

dressed to the Director, Technical Department of the All-India Spinners' Association, Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati.

Juveniles or their guardians at the time of sending self-spun yarn should note the name, age, sex and address of the spinner, give also the number of yards and state that the spinner habitually wears hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar.

For Self-spinners

The Director of the Technical Department of the All-India Spinners' Association writes that members have been repeatedly writing for the return of their yarn for converting into khaddar for their personal use and offering to pay any reasonable price. The Secretary undertook to convert it into khadi and let them have it, provided that they did not mind the mixing of other hand-spun yarn if their own was not sufficient. But this proposal to mix it was not acceptable to the members inasmuch as they wanted the satisfaction of wearing clothes made out of yarn spun by themselves. It has not been possible to comply with the desire of the members, laudable though it is in many respects, because of the possibility of some returning the same yarn as subscription. For, it would not be possible for the Association to pick and choose, favour some members and condemn others. A way has therefore been now discovered of selling the yarn received to the subscribers by doing so after bleaching it. Bleaching will in no way damage the yarn. It will whiten it, and if anything make it a trifle stronger.

Those, therefore, who want their yarn back against payment can have it on application to the Director, Technical Department, or the Secretary of the All-India Spinners' Association. And those members who desire the return of their yarn will please take care to mark on the cards attached to their yarn in clear words "to be returned".

The department will not be able to send the yarn by V.P. post. I therefore suggest, in order to avoid delay, that the senders deposit with the Director Rs. 5 when yarn will be returned immediately upon entry and examination and bleaching, unless the senders desire that sufficient quantity should be collected before the yarn is returned.

About Autobiography

Several friends in India and outside have been writing, cabling and wiring to me for permission to publish in book-form the chapters that I am writing at present on "My Experiments

with Truth". Whilst I have no objection to proprietors of newspapers and periodicals copying the chapters in their magazines or newspapers from time to time, I do not want to give permission for the publication of the chapters in book-form at the present stage. I have myself no idea when the story will be completed, and I would not like the chapters to be published in parts, and without undergoing a revision by me or under my direction.

Publishers will therefore kindly note that at the present moment I am not prepared to allow the chapters to be published or translated in book-form.

Young India, 4-3-1926

77. A REPUDIATION

Rev. H. R. Scott[1] at present stationed at Surat writes:[2]

> I have been reading with much interest your "Story" in *Young India* . . . I was the only missionary in Rajkot during those years (from 1883 to 1897) . . . I certainly never preached "at a corner near the High School" . . . and I certainly never "poured abuse on Hindus and their gods" . . . During my time in Rajkot I baptised a number of Brahmins and Jain sadhus. They certainly had not to "eat beef and drink liquor", either at their baptism or at any other time. . . .

Though the preaching took place over forty years ago the painful memory of it is still vivid before me. What I have heard and read since has but confirmed that first impression. I have read several missionary publications and they are able to see only the dark side and paint it darker still. The famous hymn of Bishop Heber's—"Greenland's icy mountains"—is a clear libel on Indian humanity. I was favoured with some literature even at the Yeravda prison by well-meaning missionaries, which seemed to be written as if merely to belittle Hinduism. About beef-eating and wine-drinking at baptism I have merely stated what I heard and I have said as much in my writing. And whilst I accept Mr. Scott's repudiation I must say that though I have mixed freely among thousands of Christian Indians, I know very few who have scruples about eating beef or other flesh meats and

[1] This appears to be a slip for S. R. Scott. *Vide* "Letter to S. R. Scott", 23-2-1926.

[2] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

drinking intoxicating liquors. When I have gently reasoned with them, they have quoted to me the celebrated verse "Call thou nothing unclean" as if it referred to eating and gave a licence for indulgence. I know that many Hindus eat meat, some eat even beef and drink wines. They are not converts. Converts are those who are "born again" or should be. A higher standard is expected of those who change their faith, if the change is a matter of the heart and not of convenience. But I must not enter into deeper waters. It is a matter of pleasure to me to be able to say that if I have had painful experiences of Christians and Christian missionaries I have pleasant ones also which I treasure. There is no doubt that among them the spirit of toleration is growing. Among individuals there is also a deeper study of Hinduism and other faiths and an appreciation of their beauties, and among some even an admission that the other great faiths of the world are not false. One is thankful for the growing liberal spirit but I have the conviction that much still remains to be done in that direction.

Young India, 4-3-1926

78. A CRY FOR COTTON

Babu Rajendra Prasad sends me the following letter:[1]

I have omitted from the letter the facts related by Satis Babu regarding the eagerness of the spinners to get their portion of cotton. Rajendra Babu adds that the majority of the spinners are Mussalman women. I wish he had given the number of the spinners among whom over Rs. 600 are being distributed weekly. But there is little difficulty in discovering the number as the average earning per week from the use of spare hours cannot be more than eight annas. Therefore at least 1,200 needy women are being served in only three centres. There are to my knowledge hundreds of such centres which can be opened if we have men and money. Unfortunately there is a dearth of both and more of men than of money. By judicious begging, money can be collected, but not equally easily workers of the right sort. But the facts that are being daily collected show that it is merely a question of time when hand-spinning must become universal. During the transition stage we must concentrate upon the centres that are already working and make them self-supporting and per-

[1] Not reproduced here

manent by effective organization. The cry for cotton must be satisfied. And that can only be done by moneyed men coming out with donations in cash or kind. The All-India Deshbandhu Memorial is not being responded to, as it should, largely because collecting has been suspended. I hope however the information that Sjts. Rajagopalachari and Rajendra Babu have made available to us will be sufficient incentive to those who believe in the potency of the spinning-wheel to loosen their purse strings. To donate to the wheel is in my opinion an ideal form of charity, for it helps the poor without making them beggars and idlers and without robbing them of self-respect and at the same time is calculated to make India self-supporting in the matter of clothing and to save her the annual drain of nearly sixty crores of rupees.

Young India, 4-3-1926

79. *'MISSION TO THE WOMEN OF INDIA'*

When I paid my humble tribute to the memory of the late Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, I had occasion to mention the great work of the Poona Seva Sadan Society of which Sjt. G. K. Devadhar is the soul. He has however sent me literature about the work of this society and asks me to review it in the hope that the readers of *Young India* might help the institution which has an annual income of nearly 2 lakhs but whose total expenditure is estimated at 2½ lakhs. I rarely review the work of any institution which I do not know intimately. I cannot claim to know this great society intimately, but I do know Sjt. G. K. Devadhar intimately. We have political differences between us but they have never blinded me to his devotion to the country and his indefatigable energy which he has sustained now for nearly a generation. This is his own claim for the Seva Sadan Society's work:

> By gradual steps the Seva Sadan, Poona, has developed now into a big organization of the nature of a Mission to the women of India. It promotes, through a widespread net-work of its branches and other allied institutions, education—literary, industrial, medical and musical in character, specially among poor and grown-up women of all castes and creeds in India.

This is how the origin of the institution is described:[1]

[1] Only excerpts reproduced here

> While engaged in the famine relief campaign in the United Provinces in 1907-08, the conviction that was dawning in my mind grew deeper and stronger every day that India needed just as much an army of trained women workers in various fields of national advance for benefit to their sisters as she needed a band of devoted and trained men. . . . These meetings resulted in a resolve to undertake the education and training of half a dozen poor widows as social workers. Thus the small seed has steadily developed today into a mighty growth.

It has eight branches conducting 94 classes in which 1,234 girls and women drawn from all classes receive instruction. 48 is the percentage of widows attending these classes. It is interesting to note that there are 3 women belonging to the suppressed class. There are 8 Jews, 24 Christians and 7 Mohammedans. The percentage of non-Brahmins is 40. There are 270 women residing in the 13 hostels maintained by the society. There are 92 receiving nursing and medical education. It has turned out already 125 certified teachers, 42 fully qualified nurses, 31 midwives, 19 doctors, 17 matrons and governesses, 30 craft-mistresses and 9 music teachers. The institution is ever growing. It is the largest of its kind in India.

For an institution that caters for the needs of poor women it certainly lacks one thing: hand-spinning and use of khaddar. But there probably Sjt. Devadhar does not see eye to eye with me. I can bide my time, for time always runs with the poor who have or have to have inexhaustible patience, and since the General Secretary's heart is with the poor, he will not fail one day to recognize that if his hand of fellowship is to reach out to the poorest in the land, it will do so only through hand-spun yarn. To look at, it is a flimsy cotton thread but it is stout enough to bind all the millions of India together in its gentle and loving coil. No doubt, embroidery-work and such other things taught at the Seva Sadan are more paying than spinning but surely everything need not be reduced into rupees, annas, pies. The 1,234 girls and women can be induced to give to their less fortunate fellow-sisters half an hour of their time every day and they can well afford to wear and carry the weight of somewhat heavier khadi saris when they have the knowledge that these saris have helped to fill the hungry mouths of some of their unfortunate sisters.

Young India, 4-3-1926

80. IN ITS NAKEDNESS

The *Forward* of Calcutta has rendered a public service by publishing extracts from the Report of the Indian Jail Committee of 1919-20 being the evidence given by Lt. Colonel Mulvany on the treatment of State prisoners. It brings vividly to light the evil of the present system of Government in all its nakedness. It shows how the officials themselves are coached to do the wrong thing and thus corrupted and deprived of any sense of self-respect. Lt. Colonel Mulvany was Superintendent of the Alipore Central Jail at the time. I cull the following[1] from his statement:

> . . . I have been in charge of one or the other of the Calcutta jails since the very beginning of the anarchical movement. . . . And I cannot say less than that *my feelings were outraged by the cruelty of the treatment I was ordered and expected to carry out*. . . . I submitted a report . . . concerning two State prisoners in which I expressed my opinion that *the degree of confinement to which they were subjected was so severe as to be liable to injure their health, that the confinement was more stringently solitary than any solitary confinement imposed under the Prisons Act or under jail regulations both of which were limited strictly to seven days.* I submitted this report deliberately with intent to force a crisis which must result either in my removal (which I did not anticipate) or in some amelioration of the cruelties I was ordered to inflict. What was the result? My letter was returned to me with the request to reconsider it. . . .

The correspondence too referred to by Lt. Colonel Mulvany is reproduced by the *Forward*. I cannot resist the temptation to quote from the letter of the then Inspector General of Prisons who on receipt of the damning report from Lt. Colonel Mulvany asked him to reconsider it and suggested the falsehood he was to say in his revised report. Here is the relevant quotation:

> Please reconsider this letter. Remember it has to go to Simla and it will rouse the Olympian wrath. The degree of solitary confinement is dictated to us by the police need of separating these prisoners not only from other native prisoners but from each other. I think you might so far report that the prisoners are in solitary confinement and are permitted to exercise daily and that both are cheerful and the health of neither has suffered or words to that effect.

[1] Only excerpts reproduced here

Upon the receipt of this letter Lt. Colonel Mulvany regretfully pocketed his pride and sent what he knew to be an untruthful report. How is it possible after this report to believe any at all coming from a Government source and intended to whitewash it? Nor is this an exceptional case. This cooking of reports and statements is a most usual thing with the Government as is known to everyone who has had anything to do with Government departments. Today everything has to be "edited" by superior officers.

Relatives of the brave men of Bengal who are being indefinitely detained without a trial have with difficulty come to know certain things about the prisoners, which have been given to the world and which go to show that they are being put to much unnecessary hardship. The allegations are generally denied and where a total denial is not possible, partial truth is admitted and the blame for what suffering is admitted is thrown on the prisoners.

When Sjt. Goswami succeeds in forcing a debate in the Assembly he is laughed at and told from the Government benches that Lt. Colonel Mulvany's statement was not accepted by the Committee. The Government entrenching itself behind a wall of lies and the force of its bayonets treats the complaints with contempt in the certain belief that the detention and ill-treatment of prisoners are necessary for the safety of the Englishmen it represents.

Bengal has declared a day of hartal by way of protest. The Government cares little about hartals of impotent people. It listens to no argument save that of force, whether of the sword or the soul. It knows and respects the former, it does not know the latter and therefore fears it. We have not the former. We thought we had the latter in 1921. But now—?

Young India, 4-3-1926

81. LETTER TO HARIBHAU

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 4, 1926

DEAR HARIBHAU,

Maganlal has passed on your message to me. If an expert can be posted in Poona, he will be sent but I want to controvert your argument. We are not like Dunlops or Singers. We have not an unlimited capital to lose. We may not exploit in the sense that they do. We may not add thousand per cent to the cost at the base. Our methods therefore must be different from theirs. If we concentrate upon a central factory for turning out wheels and their parts, the movement is doomed to fail. On the contrary we must make the people self-reliant and therefore teach them to make their own wheels. This teaching of decentralization can only commence with the province and therefore you have to do what you are expecting Sabarmati to do, that is, the Central Board.

Maharashtra must train experts who will spread themselves in different parts and in their turn whilst helping the people will teach them. Those who believe in the wheel must not be satisfied with merely spinning yarn but must understand the mechanism of the wheel themselves, to be able to mend it, to replace parts, learn all the easy methods of making and adjusting holders, spindle, outfit, etc. What is in its nature easy we must not make difficult by telling people that they need to come to us for putting their wheels right when they get out of order. I therefore suggest to you that you now begin to make an effort to become self reliant and self contained, getting from here all the help you need in the process. We have now reached a stage in the career of khadi when it can go forward in leaps and bounds if only the few workers that we are would make ourselves experts in all its various branches—a consummation which really does not require either much time or extraordinary intelligence or ability. All that is required is sustained application.

Maganlal is dealing with the rest of your letter.

Yours,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19343

82. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 5, 1926

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I received your note of the 1st. Though you have left a note for Dr. Mehta, I have also written to make assurance doubly sure. I hope Kamala kept excellent health on board. Did you all profit by the voyage? No time to say anything more.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

A Bunch of Old Letters, p. 46

83. LETTER TO K. B. MENON

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 5, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Whilst I wish you every success in all your worthy endeavours, I must resist the temptation of becoming patron to your institution. I cannot recall a single instance in my life of having accepted that office in connection with an institution which I do not know personally and for which I have done no work or can do no work.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. K. B. MENON
SECRETARY
SONS OF BHARATH
P.O. BOX 477, BERKELEY, CALIF., U.S.A.

From a photostat: S.N. 12423

84. LETTER TO ALICE MCKAY KELLY

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 5, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your good letter. Please tell the members of the League the best way of helping India is to engage in an accurate study of the Indian problem not from newspapers nor after the newspaper style but as diligent students from original sources with patient and prayerful effort.

Regarding your wish that I should visit America, I assure you I am equally eager but I must wait for the definite guidance of the inner voice.

In your previous letter you have asked me for a signed photograph. Did you know that I don't possess a single print myself. I had not given a sitting for the last ten years and even when I used to give sittings I never got my own portraits. I am sorry therefore that I have to disappoint you.

Yours sincerely,

MISS ALICE MCKAY KELLY
1200, MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 12427

85. LETTER TO EDWIN M. STANDING

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 5, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter and the photograph. I was wondering where you were and whether you ever received my letter. I am having your name registered for *Young India.* I hope you will get it regularly.

Yes. I am taking rest for one year at the Ashram. It is not possible to say that I have retired from politics altogether for the year but my political activity is confined to whatever I can do from my place in the Ashram.

What photo did I promise you? If it was my own, I must have made some mistake for I thought you knew that I did not possess any myself. There are so-called portraits of mine which are sold in the bazaar. Surely you do not want that misprint.

I do not interest myself in the activities of the Theosophical Society.

I do not subscribe to the proposition that you seem to imply that good things require a library to explain them or that one needs numberless libraries to describe one's joy and satisfaction. On the contrary, I have known that where reasons are sound and pious they can be summed up in a few lines and joy which is real is either inexpressible or its expression often condensed in one word or a phrase. I would therefore still ask you, if you care to explain, the reasons that have led you to Catholicism and describe if you can the secret of the endless joy it has given you. I ask this question not for idle curiosity but in order to understand the meaning and the power of Roman Catholicism. I understand somewhat but sufficiently enough for my purpose Judaism. I understand still more fully Protestantism; I understand Islam; I understand also Hinduism but though I had a few Roman Catholic friends, I have never been able to come near enough to them to understand Catholicism. The superficial distinctions between the two churches I do understand. What I want to reach is the heart of Catholicism. You can perhaps help me. Hence my question.

Mr. and Mrs. Ambalal often see me. So also the children. They are all grown. Mridula is almost a woman in wisdom. I shall be sending your letter to Saraladevi who I know delights to hear about you.

Yours sincerely,

EDWIN M. STANDING
SEFTON PLACE, ARUNDEL
SUSSEX, ENGLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 12438

86. LETTER TO M. MUJEEB

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 5, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am glad you are all fixed up in the Muslim University. I remember having heard from Zakir[1]. I expect great things from you as I know you through Hakim Saheb and Khwaja Saheb. I would certainly love to see you and talk to you and know you personally. The only way to do it is for you to come to Sabarmati. Can you come during this month? In April under doctor's advice I shall most probably be moving to a hill station.

Remember that Monday is my day of silence. Come here whenever you like and stay at Ashram.

Yours sincerely,

MAULANA M. MUJEEB
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY
KARAUL BAGH
DELHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 19344

87. LETTER TO DR. PRATAP CAHNDRA GUHA RAY

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 5, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Welcome! What a comedy of errors! I did not receive your telegram that you mention. I showed your telegram to several friends here and none of us could make out the place and all considered that it was some Kakori case prisoner wiring from U.P. It ought to have struck me that the province might be Bengal and that it must be you who had been discharged. Your letter now corrects the error.

Whenever you come to Sabarmati, I shall certainly examine you about your spinning capacity. I wonder if Mrs. Ray ever

[1] Zakir Husain (b. 1897); third President of India

received my letter which I wrote to her after you were imprisoned.

When is Hemendra Babu's book to be published? I shall gladly write a few lines of preface if he or you will let me know when the book is likely to be published at the latest.

Yours sincerely,

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA GUHA RAY
38 A, KALIGHAT ROAD
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19345

88. LETTER TO J. V. BETHMANN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 5, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. There have been many applications for translation of the autobiography I am writing but I have not yet given to anybody the exclusive right.

The lady from Copenhagen is free to translate it if she is content to do so without claiming an exclusive right.

I thank you and Mrs. Bethmann for your kind enquiry about my health which is progressing.

With regards to yourself and Mrs. Bethmann.

Yours sincerely,

REV. J. V. BETHMANN
20 MILLER ROAD, KILPAUK
MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 19346

89. LETTER TO KRISHNADAS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 5, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNADAS,

I have your two letters. I know how Guruji feels about the present situation. The ways of God are inscrutable and I have no doubt that the cloud hanging over our heads will lift in its time. You can hasten it by prayerful work. I know also Guruji's anxiety about my health. So long as I am wanted in this body on this earth, it will remain intact. Ours is but to take what care we legitimately can and this I am doing.

I am glad that Guruji is again much better.

I was weighed yesterday and found to have gained 2 lbs. I am now 101 lbs. You shall certainly have Gujarati *Navajivan* from week to week. The current number I am sending now by a separate book post and for the future I am asking Swami to register your name.

Kamala's marriage went off quite nicely. There was no fuss and there was only religious ceremony. Pyarelal came yesterday. Devdas came over for a day. He went back on Tuesday to Deolali. Mathuradas is making steady though very slow progress. Satis Babu, his wife and his son Arun are here.

Yours,

SJT. KRISHNADAS
110, HAZRA ROAD
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19347

90. *LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 5, 1926

DEAR DR. ANSARI,

I have your telegram about your immediately sailing for England. It came upon me as a surprise as I knew nothing of your impending visit nor am I any better off now. However, on your return there will be sufficient still left of me as your patient for you to examine and tamper with.

But a telegram today says you are to be one of the Hindu-Moslem Committee now to be appointed. Does it mean that your departure is postponed or that the Committee is to carry on its work after your return? I have responded to Pandit Motilalji's imperative call but I am diffident about our ability to do anything.

Whenever you go my good wishes attend you. I hope Begum Ansari is much better now. I wonder how Hakimji is faring.

Yours sincerely,

DR. M. A. ANSARI
DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 19348

91. *LETTER TO DAHYABHAI M. PATEL*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday [March 5, 1926][1]

BHAI DAHYABHAI,

I have your letter. I think it is not right to write about the Mamlatdar and the Collector. I shall include a note on Rampar. You convey Hirabhai's *namaskaras* with love and devotion and say at the same time that he does not observe his vow of spinning, though he has the leisure. How can such *namaskaras* be accepted? And what can we say about the love and regards

[1] From the postmark

of a person who cannot keep even a simple vow? Do tell him all this and write to me what he says.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 2695. Courtesy: Dahyabhai M. Patel

92. LETTER TO M. K. ACHARYA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 6, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have now been able to go through your pamphlet. I must confess that it does not carry conviction. The statements you make about untouchability are wholly unsupported. The solution you suggest is no solution. Your meaning of *prarabdha*[1] is such that if it were true there would be no scope left for mutual help, and every atrocity on earth would be justifiable. And therefore all the declamations against Europeans of South Africa for their treatment of our countrymen would be found to be wholly wrong. Nor in my opinion have you presented the present movement against untouchability in a just manner.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. M. K. ACHARYA
10 D, QUEENSWAY
RAISINA, DELHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 19349

93. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI G. PATEL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, Phagan Vad 7, 1982 [March 6, 1926]

BHAI SHIVABHAI,

I could not attend to your letter earlier on account of my illness. If one regards non-co-operation as dharma then co-operation is sinful. Dharma is ever binding. The slightest violation of such a bond is sin. It would be an exaggeration to say that an institution can render no service to the country if it as-

[1] Pre-destiny

sociates with the Government. But it is certainly true that the closer the association the less the service.

It is difficult to answer your last question offhand. I can explain if you see me in person. The usual time is 4 p.m. except on Mondays. I do not think a husband observing *brahmacharya* must forsake his wife. Of course, he should steadfastly avoid all privacy with her.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 406. Courtesy: Shivabhai Patel

94. LETTER TO HARSUKHRAI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, Phagan Vad 7 [March 6, 1926]

BHAI HARSUKHRAI,

I have your letter. I can suggest a number of remedies if you can forget that you have qualified for the bar. But can I ask you to take up manual work? Will you be interested in spinning and carding yourself and getting others to do it? Can you derive the same satisfaction that a labourer does in earning his livelihood? All my remedies are as easy as they are hard. But write to me if you can live the life of a labourer.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 10609

95. WITH BARE RELIGIOUS RITES

Though the Satyagraha Ashram has kept before itself the ideal of inviolate celibacy, it recently celebrated some marriages; the events being of general interest, I have commented on them in *Navajivan*. I have discussed privately among friends how the Ashram which has accepted celibacy as its ideal can thus encourage marriages. However, a brief reply to the question for the benefit of readers who take interest in the activities of the Ashram will not be out of place.

If those who aspire to follow the ideal of *brahmacharya* accepted by the Satyagraha Ashram cannot even bear to see a wedding, I think, they will never be able to practise *brahmacharya*

for their whole life. We all know the story of Rishyashrung[1]. If a person hankers after a thing from which he keeps himself away and still pretends that he is indifferent to it, his pretence will not succeed for long. He should, on the contrary, be ready to battle with the temptations which may occasionally face him. He whose mind wavers is no *brahmachari*; only that self-restraint which is exercised of one's own free will can endure. This is what Nishkulanand had in mind when he wrote in his poem: "Renunciation cannot last without detachment". One who feels joy in self-restraint and loves it will not be tempted by things which might violate his vow of self-restraint, but will remain indifferent to them.

Moreover, there are boys and girls in the Satyagraha Ashram and it cannot attempt to keep them unmarried against their will. It naturally becomes the Ashram's duty to help them to marry when they feel that they will not be able to observe *brahmacharya* throughout their lives. Moreover, the Ashram has a few well-wishers and its inmates feel bound to help in any way they can to make the weddings of these friends' sons and daughters model celebrations. It has been my view that, though arranged under the auspices of the Ashram, such weddings are not likely to harm its ideal of *brahmacharya*. Hence, instead of forbidding I have actually encouraged the Ashram to arrange them under its auspices. One such wedding of a girl brought up in the Ashram itself took place recently. Readers of *Navajivan* know Shri Lakshmidas Purushottam. His eldest daughter, Chi. Moti, was married about a month ago to Shri Najuklal Chokshi, a worker in the Broach Kelavani Mandal. The marriage was arranged without any stipulation of gifts from either side. I have been told that such marriages are rare in the Bhatia community. We may add that the marriage was the result of free choice by the bride and the bridegroom, for though the initiative was taken by the bride's parents the final decision was made by the parties themselves. The wedding was arranged only when both of them felt that they wished to be joined in holy wedlock. None except close friends were invited to the ceremony, either as guests in the party of the bride or the bridegroom or in any other capacity. The couple wore their usual khadi dress. They had, on their own, decided not to wear ornaments. Both of them kept a fast till the ceremony of joining their hands in marriage. The wedding ceremony in-

[1] In the *Ramayana*; a young ascetic, brought up without any acquaintance with women, was fascinated by the first woman he set eyes on.

cluded nothing besides what was laid down in the ancient Shastras. The bridegroom had sent no gifts for the bride, for the latter's parents did not want any to be sent. Weddings like this where neither side is put to the expense of even five rupees and the occasion is regarded as an opportunity for the exercise of self-restraint are very rare in the country.'

A marriage celebrated in this manner cannot be considered a licence for self-indulgence. The couple's married life will be a course of self-restraint, just as *brahmacharya* is. I know that expenditure on marriages among Bhatias is increasing day by day, since the community has plenty of money. The bride is, so to say, a commodity offered in sale, and this is done shamelessly since the practice is almost universal among them. A poor Bhatia, therefore, finds it extremely difficult to get a bride. I have given such publicity to this event in the hope that religious-minded Bhatia families will follow the example of the wedding here described.

Another wedding, of the same kind as the one described above if not exactly like it, was celebrated under the auspices of the Ashram on Sunday last. The parties were members of the Marwari community. Shri Jamnalal Bajaj gave in marriage his eldest daughter, Chi. Kamla, to Chi. Rameshwar Prasad, son of the late Shri Kanaiyalalji. Shri Rameshwar Prasad is studying in the Gujarat Vidyapith. The families of both the parties being rich, it was extremely difficult for them to have only the religious rites for the wedding and nothing else. I have not heard of any wedding among rich Marwari families celebrated with such simplicity. Ordinarily, the wedding would have been arranged at Wardha or in Bombay. Shri Jamnalalji wanted it to be solemnized without ostentation and with the minimum of expenditure, and wished at the same time that the ceremony should bring home to the bride and the bridegroom the significance of marriage, its essentially religious character, and also clearly explain to them their mutual obligations. Shri Jamnalalji and I felt that such a wedding could be celebrated only in the precincts of the Ashram. This religious reform, however, could not be carried out without the consent of the bridegroom and his family. But Shri Ramavallabhji and Shri Keshavdevji won over Shri Rameshwar Prasad's mother and other elders, and thus secured the consent of all.

For this wedding too, only the closest friends were invited. The usual invitation cards were not distributed. The dinner was also cut out. The custom of token gifts to the bride and the bridegroom was not followed. There was absolutely nothing besides

the religious rites followed in ancient times. Both the bride and the bridegroom were dressed in khadi. At both weddings, the bridegroom and the bride made their vows to each other in their respective mother tongues at the time of the *saptapadi*[1] in my presence and led by me.

Here are the *saptapadi* and the bridegroom's final vow.

"SAPTAPADI"

1. BRIDEGROOM: Take one step, that we may have strength of will. Help me to fulfil my vow.

BRIDE: In every worthy wish of yours, I shall be your help-mate.

2. BRIDEGROOM: Take the second step, that we may be filled with vigour. Help me to fulfil my vow.

BRIDE: In every worthy wish of yours, I shall be your help-mate.

3. BRIDEGROOM: Take the third step, that we may live in ever increasing prosperity. Help me to fulfil my vow.

BRIDE: Your joys and sorrows I will share.

4. BRIDEGROOM: Take the fourth step, that we may be ever full of joy. Help me to fulfil my vow.

BRIDE: I will ever live devoted to you, speaking words of love and praying for your happiness.

5. BRIDEGROOM: Take the fifth step, that we may serve the people. Help me to fulfil my vow.

BRIDE: I will follow close behind you always and help you to keep your vow of serving the people.

6. BRIDEGROOM: Take the sixth step, that we may follow the *niyamas*[2] in life. Help me to fulfil my vow.

BRIDE: I will follow you in observing the *yamas*[3] and the *niyamas*.

7. BRIDEGROOM: Take the seventh step, that we may ever live as friends. Help me to fulfil my vow.

BRIDE: It is the fruit of my good deeds that I have you as my husband. You are my best friend, my highest guru and my sovereign lord.

[1] The seven steps, the central and sacramentally and legally decisive part of the Hindu marriage ceremony

[2] Any voluntary or self-imposed religious observance, dependent on external conditions

[3] Any moral duty or religious observance; the *yamas* are usually said to be ten, but their names are given differently by different writers. They include celibacy, compassion, truth, charity, non-violence, etc.

BRIDE'S FATHER: Whatever duties you discharge as prescribed by dharma, do with this my daughter as your help-mate. Be faithful to her in your pursuit of dharma, *artha*[1] and *kama*[2] and never go astray.

BRIDEGROOM: I will not leave her, will not leave her, will not leave her.

Consider how much money would be saved, to what extent ostentation would be reduced, what trouble the bride, the bridegroom and the parents of both would be spared and how much the cause of dharma would be served if other rich Marwari families followed the pattern set by this wedding.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-3-1926

96. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 9, 1926

DEAR MIRABAI,

I enclose herewith a copy of cable received from Johannesburg. I telegraphed the substance to Sorabji but I thought you should have the full text. I have replied 'Await decision Committee, Delhi'. This reply I have sent in continuation of my assurance to Sorabji that I shall not give any advice to the settlers in South Africa contrary to what the Committee that seems to have been formed there may say or do.

My own opinion however remains unchanged that we are being ourselves in the wrong by absolutely refusing to give evidence even on the principle of the Bill. I have heard the objection namely that our people will not be able to stand the fire of cross-examination and that there is no Indian of sufficient calibre and experience in South Africa who can give evidence. The obvious answer is that no Indian need give evidence. As you will see the Select Committee has asked for a written representation which can be prepared and the Solicitor who may be engaged on our behalf may submit himself for cross examination. I know the difficulty of selecting such a Solicitor or Counsel, but it is not an impossible task. Adam Alexander would not make a bad representative. He is a fairly conscientious man and his sympathies are with us. It is

[1] Property, material success

[2] Worldly happiness

possible to think of others who can also give evidence without compromising or selling the community. What I want to say is that though nothing may come out of the Select Committee, we should not leave it open to them to say that although we were given the opportunity we did not even lead evidence. Let it not be said that in 1914 I boycotted the Solomon Commission. I did so for the simple reason that the community had taken the solemn resolution that if the Government did not widen the terms of the Commission and appoint a representative on behalf of the community on the Commission it would be boycotted. Hence the adherence to the resolution. Even so it could be recalled that before even the Commission sat, I had come to an understanding with General Smuts that the Asiatic Act would be repealed and that General Smuts would require from the Commission a finding that would enable him to offer us an honourable settlement. This is a matter of partly of record [*sic*].

I hope you are keeping well and I wish you every success in the delicate tasks which are just now engaging your attention.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU
C/O V. J. PATEL
DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 11946

97. *LETTER TO TULSI MAHER*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday [*March 10, 1926*][1]

BHAI TULSI MAHER,

I have been getting your letters. Since your whereabouts were uncertain I did not write to you. I am keeping well. They are planning to go to the hills in April. Are rice and vegetables alone adequate for keeping up your bodily strength? You must not ruin your health. Nowadays the Ashram is full.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6525

[1] In the source someone has scribbled at the top "11-3-'26" which is presumably the date of posting.

98. CABLE TO HAJEE[1]

[SABARMATI,
On or after *March 10, 1926*]

HAJEE
SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS
DURBAN

SENT OPINION DELHI COMMITTEE WEEK AGO.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 11947

99. ANDREWS' AGONY

The reader will like to share with me the following letter from Charlie Andrews, that noble-hearted Englishman who fights our battles whether in or outside India with a selflessness and devotion difficult to equal, impossible to surpass, often in the midst of misunderstanding. We shall probably never know what solace and strength his presence has meant to our countrymen in South Africa, in their hour of need. Here is his letter dated Cape Town, 23rd February, without the alteration or removal of a single word:[2]

> This has been a long-drawn agony such as I have never experienced hitherto, with its rises and falls, its hopes and crushing disappointments. There seemed to be for a time one of those sudden revolutions when all doors seemed open and it appeared possible that again there might be a relenting and a realizing just as there was in 1914. I had two very long talks,—one with General Hertzog and one with Malan, both of them extremely earnest and as I felt sincere. It even seemed to me that their fundamental position was shaken and that there would be at least a long postponement. . . .
>
> But now it has all gone back again. The reaction began with the Colour Bar Bill. Nothing could have been more spiritually degrading

[1] In reply to his cable received on March 10, 1926 which was dated March 8, 1926 and read thus: "Please reply my cable twenty first February regarding giving evidence Select Committee. Conference meeting fourteenth Johannesburg."

[2] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

than the scenes in Parliament—each side charging the other with hypocrisy. . . .

. . . The scene at the First Reading was significant. Smuts and Smartt at Drummond Chaplin stayed away. The rest went almost frivolously to a Division —81 to 10 —the later merely being a handful of Cape members who have coloured voters to care for.

It is a strange South Africa today. All the liberal element which you and I knew so well in 1914 seems to have vanished. . . .

Manilal has been working so well and he has been feeling it all the more deeply than anyone else.

I do not share Mr. Andrews' gloomy forecast, not that I believe in the Imperial Government or the Government of India doing anything heroic. But I believe in the ultimate triumph of truth when it is embodied in brave souls and in the ability and willingness of Indian settlers to render a good account of themselves when the supreme moment comes. They have but to be prepared for voluntary and ennobling suffering in order to win. Compulsory and degrading suffering is provided for them in the laws against which they are fighting. Theirs is the choice.

Young India, 11-3-1926

100. *STILL SHIRKING THE ISSUE*

Another case like the one discussed in these pages recently has been decided in the South with reference to the vexed question of temple-entry by the so-called untouchables. One Murugesan, a Mala by caste, was tried before the Stationary Sub-Magistrate of Tirupathi for having ventured to enter a temple at Tiruchanur for the purpose of offering worship. The Lower Court regarded this entry as 'defilement with intent to insult the religion of a class' under section 295 of I.P.C. and fined the accused Rs. 75 or in default rigorous imprisonment for one month. Fortunately for the poor outcaste there were reformers who were interested in him. The case went in appeal. The appellate court sustained the appeal. I quote the following from the judgment.

In the Lower Court 7 witnesses were examined for the prosecution. It is shown by their evidence that the appellant is a Mala by caste, that Malas are not allowed to enter the temple and that the entry of Malas into the temple is considered a defilement of it. It is shown also that

appellant went into the temple to the *garbagudi* where caste Hindus alone may enter. He was then dressed properly and wearing marks of piety; the Archaka taking him for a caste Hindu, received his offering of cocoanuts and performed camphor *harathi* for him, for which service appellant paid the prescribed fee of four annas. After appellant departed the temple authorities found that he was a Mala and as the place of worship was considered defiled by his presence it became necessary to perform a purificatory ceremony.

The first thing to consider is whether the prosecution evidence has made out the elements of the offence so as to warrant the framing of a charge. The fact of defilement of the place of worship by the entry therein of accused who is a Mala is sufficiently made out in the sense that a ritual impurity was caused thereby. But in addition it was necessary to show that the effect was an insult to the religion of any class of persons and that the accused intended such effect or knew of its possibility. The case for the prosecution does not seem to have been conducted with this point kept in view and it has not been elicited from any of the witnesses that accused's act was an insult to the religion of the witnesses or any class of persons leaving alone the question whether accused intended such insult or knew it to be likely. On account of this defect in the state of the prosecution evidence I think the conviction cannot stand. I do not think the case should be ordered to be retried.

Again the prosecutors, the judges and the deliverers of the poor despised men were his co-religionists—Hindus. Again the accused was happily saved from rigorous imprisonment (he could not pay the exorbitant fine I presume). But again the cause remains undecided. It was open to the Hindu judge to say that the entry into a Hindu temple by a *Panchama* Hindu with the object of offering worship could not by any stretch of the meaning of the word 'insult' constitute an insult to the Hindu religion to which the accused claimed and was admitted to belong. It may have been improper in the estimation of some Hindus for the accused to enter the temple, it may have been contrary to custom, it may have been a hundred other things, but it was not an insult to the religion of any class such as to amount to a crime under the Indian Penal Code. It is worthy of note that the accused bore no visible marks of his despised birth. He was "dressed properly and wearing marks of piety". Indeed if these persecuted men choose to practise deception, it would be impossible to distinguish them from the rest. It is simple fanatical obstinacy to persist in persecuting men in the sacred name of religion. It is the persecutors who are unknowingly defiling their

own religion by keeping out of public temples men who are at least as honourable as they claim to be themselves and are willing to abide by all the ceremonial rules observable by Hindus in general on such occasions. More than that no man has any right to impose or expect. The heart of man only God knows. An ill-dressed *Panchama* may have a much cleaner heart than a meticulously dressed high-caste Hindu.

Young India, 11-3-1926

101. NOTES

The Poet and the Wheel

In spite of the weakness of body to which the Poet himself referred in his address at the Abhoy Ashram, it was a good thing for Dr. Suresh Bannerji, the manager of the Abhoy Ashram, at Comilla, to have drawn Dr. Tagore there. The reader knows that the Abhoy Ashram was established for the purpose of khaddar development. The Poet's acceptance of the address and such association as it may imply on his part with khaddar movement dispels, if any dispeller was necessary, the superstition that the Poet is against the spinning-wheel and the khaddar movement in every shape or form. In the epitome of his address published in the *Servant*, I find the following reference to the movement:

> The country is not one's own by mere accident of birth but becomes so by one's life's contribution. An animal has got its fur but man has got to spin and weave because what the animal has got, it has got once for all and ready-made. It is for man to re-arrange and reshuffle for his purposes materials he finds placed before him.

But there are other pregnant facts in the address which are helpful to workers for swaraj. This is what the Poet has to say to us:

> That we were so long kept from realizing India in her true self is due to the fact that we have not by daily endeavour created her moment by moment making her healthful and fruitful.

Thus he adjures us each one individually to make daily endeavour if we are to gain swaraj. In the very next sentence he asks us "not to cherish the dream that swaraj can be ours by some extraneous happening".

The Poet adds:

> It can be ours in so far as we succeed in permeating our consciousness throughout the country by service.

He tells us also how to attain unity. "We could attain unity *only through* work." That is what the inmates of the Abhoy Ashram are actually doing. For, through their spinning they are helping Hindus, Mussalmans, in fact everybody, who needs help through that source. They are teaching untouchable boys and girls through their school and through it teach them to spin also. Through their dispensary they are giving relief to the ailing irrespective of race or religion. They need to preach no sermon on unity. They live it. This work inspires the Poet and he therefore proceeds to say:

> Life is an organic whole. It is the spirit that after all matters. It is not a fact that there is lack of strength in our arms. The fact is that our mind has not been awakened. . . . Our greatest fight here therefore is that against mental lethargy. The village is a living entity. You cannot neglect any one department of its life without injuring the other. We are to realize today the soul of our country as a great indivisible whole and likewise all our disabilities and miseries as one inter-related whole.

Referring to our failure the Poet truly says:

> Man's creation can be beautiful in so far as he has given himself to his work. The reason why our enterprises in this country fail so often is that we give only a portion of ourselves to the cause dear to our heart. We give with the right hand to steal back with the left.

Why Not Visit America?

A correspondent writes:

> You are refusing invitations from America. Of course you know better than I whether the time is really opportune or not. Yet I cannot make out why you should not visit the New World. Your one and main ground is that you have not yet been completely successful in your own land amongst your own people. But success or failure should be judged by God alone. Do you mean to say that the movement of non-violence inaugurated by you has not yet been firmly established? Truth supports truth. Would you differ from me in holding that this movement requires a world-wide campaign? And America and India—should they not be alike to you in respect of truth and non-violence?
>
> I should cite one or two instances as well in this connection. Our Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (peace be on Him) did not, when necessary,

> hesitate to accept the help of His followers from Medina though outside Mecca, His own birth-place. More recently Swami Vivekananda found a better field in America to proclaim his message to the world.
>
> And again, if to materialize [*sic*] the success of khaddar movement stands in your way, you know that you can collect funds from America. Why not make a condition (to yourself at least) that you must collect for khaddar from America this or that amount of rupees. "Give and take" must have its sway. If funds be sufficient at the back of khaddar movement, its popularity and success will not be long coming.

This is one out of many received by me pressing me to accept the invitation from America. My reason is simple. I have not enough self-confidence to warrant my going to America. I have no doubt that the movement of non-violence has come to stay. I have no doubt whatsoever about its final success; but I cannot give an ocular demonstration of the efficacy of non-violence. Till then, I feel that I must continue to preach from the narrower Indian platform. There is no analogy between the illustrations cited and my case. But in any case the Prophet and the Swami felt the call. I do not as yet.

The success of khaddar rests not merely upon sufficiency of funds. There are many factors whose co-ordination is necessary for the stabilization of khaddar. If ever I go to America, it will not be with the intention of collecting funds for any Indian movement with which I may be connected. India must shoulder her own burden and if America feels the call to help she would do so not on the principle of "give and take" but independently. My visit and America's help must each stand on its own merits.

A CORRECTION

A correspondent writes to say that the M.L.C. referred to in *Young India* of 18-2-26 is not himself a self-spinner. His niece spins for him. I gladly make the correction. I printed the information as it came from an authoritative source. The khaddar movement and for that matter any movement can gain nothing by exaggeration. The slightest inaccuracy harms a pure movement. If M.L.C.s spin the fact may be advertised but the movement must continue in its purity whether M.L.C.s spin or not, whether many spin or a few only. If it has intrinsic value, i.e., if there are millions of starving people in India, if they are idling away at least a third of their time and if hand-spinning be the only occupation immediately available for such a vast mass of humanity, the cult will advance even if for the time being only one true man represents it. If the assumptions be wrong, the

movement will perish even though the Viceroy may spin. Let every khadi worker then realize that this is a movement for the multitude of paupers of India and that for rapid advance it needs above all else the strictest accuracy of statement.

The Secretary who supplied the figures published writes to say that the prizes offered were not meant for rich men but that they were meant for those poor people who attend clubs regularly.

For Juveniles

The following form[1] has been prepared by the Secretary of the All-India Spinners' Association which should be signed by the juveniles at the time of sending their first quota of yarn to the Director, Technical Department of the All-India Spinners' Association, Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati:

Every boy or girl who feels for the paupers of the land will consider it his or her duty and privilege to become a member of the Association.

Young India, 11-3-1926

102. NOTES

To Those Wishing to Be Members of the Congress

For those wishing to be members of the Congress it is no longer enough to express the wish in the application form prescribed by the Spinners' Association or to write "A" or "B". A special application form has been prepared for membership of the Congress. Those who wish to be members of that organization should fill it in. But in addition to filling in this form they will have to tender 2,000 yards of yarn for this year (1926). Only then will they be issued the Congress certificate. If, for instance, a member of the Spinners' Association who belongs to category "A" has tendered 3,000 yards of yarn for the period from October to December, he will not be issued the Congress certificate unless he sends 2,000 yards of yarn for January and February. If someone has sent yarn for January he cannot become a member of the Congress till he sends 1,000 yards for February. Similarly those members of category "B" who have sent 2,000 yards for October, November or December 1925 may

[1] Not reproduced here. One hundred yards of yarn were to be sent by juveniles.

become members of the Congress only on sending a further 2,000 yards.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 11-3-1926

103. LETTER TO P. S. R. CHOWDHURY

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter with enclosures. You have related in a telling manner a painful story. I am afraid not much will come out of the agitation contemplated by you. We have to develop real strength before relief can be had. However, I propose to deal with the matter in the pages of *Young India*.[1]

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. S. R. CHOWDHURY
HON. SECRETARY
GLASGOW INDIAN UNION
C/o GLASGOW UNIVERSITY
GLASGOW

From a photostat: S.N. 12440

104. LETTER TO D. HANUMANTHARAO

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 11, 1926

MY DEAR HANUMANTHARAO,

I like your letters, the latest more especially, though I dissent entirely from several of your conclusions. I like your robust faith in the no-drug theory and I like also your insistence on my avoidance of all drugs under every conceivable circumstance, but experience has taught me that reformers develop a certain amount of intolerance and fanaticism which hinder the reform that they have so much at heart.

The evils that you recite about quinine, for instance, are evils that arise from taking large doses and for a prolonged period,

[1] *Vide* "Difference in Degree", 18-3-1926.

whereas I took it in five-grain doses, never more than 10 grains in 24 hours, diluted in fresh lemon juice and plenty of water and mixed with soda bicarb. In all, I took not more than 30 grains spread over 5 days. Thus for 4 days I had only 5 grains per day. I have suffered from no visible evil effect and I was able to satisfy so many anxious friends and doctors who insisted on my taking 15-grain doses.

The indiscriminate attack upon quinine will prove futile because that is the one drug whose general potency for the temporary cure of malaria is not to be questioned. People won't be frightened by the possible evil effect of quinine if it produces the tangible present result of checking the ravages of malaria. The attack therefore must be a flank attack.

The reasons for my taking quinine were just the same as the reasons for undergoing the operation[1] when I was under restraint. If the restraint then induced me to give in, how much more the restraint of unadulterated love should have done in the latest instance? But nothing could either have induced me to undergo the operation at the Sassoon hospital if I had not been convinced that it was purely an echo of my own weakness. But that weakness is weakness of faith in the absolute efficacy of what you call "nature treatment". Even nature treatment is under exploration and is a growing thing. It has not yet reached that perfect stage when we can ensure absolute results. And if you have in mind something beyond nature treatment, that is faith in God and consequent absolute resignation; I own I have not yet attained that stage. We can only come to it by painful effort. We cannot put it on like a garment, nor can one be argued into that absolute consciousness of the presence within us of the "All-Protecting Power."

I reason with you at length because I honour your sincerity, but I detect your growing impatience and intolerance which are calculated to hinder your progress as a nature-cure advocate. Do not again run away with the idea that all things that taste bitter are necessarily bad. Bitterness, sweetness, etc., are relative terms. Do you know that for some people sweetness is more nauseating than bitterness? Will you not subscribe to the statement that a regular use of sugar is more harmful than a regular use of the bitter *nim* leaf? And I am not at all sure that a person who will clean his teeth well with a brush made from *nim* tree will not keep his mouth in a nice and healthy condition. Or will

[1] In 1924; *vide* Vol XXIII, pp. 189-90.

you prescribe for him a tea-spoonful of sugar powder to brush his teeth with?

Lastly on the principle of "physician, cure thyself" I must ask you to become strong and robust and to be an object-lesson and advertisement for nature-cure.

This letter is written not to discourage you from bombarding me. Only you must be prepared to receive counter-bombardments.

I wonder if you have received my letter written to you some days ago regarding those two friends who want to come to the Ashram and about the Ashram at Nellore. It was sent to you at Vizagapatam. You had then given no other address.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. D. HANUMANTHARAO
C/o D. V. RAMASWAMI IYER
VIZAGAPATAM

From a photostat: S.N. 19350

105. LETTER TO KELAPPAN

March 11, 1926

I have your letter[1]. I should like to find the help you require. I am now corresponding with Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar in connection with it. You will therefore hear from [me] again later.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19351

106. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 11, 1926

MY DEAR C. R.,

No news from you since your last telegram. For fear you may not come, I send you the enclosed letter from Kelappan. What do you advise? If you think that this help should be given, please give out of the Travancore funds left with you.

[1] Dated March 2, 1926. In this the addressee had asked Gandhiji to provide Rs. 600 for repair of a house.

When are you sending your next promised instalment?[1] Do not wait till the readers have forgotten all about the first.

Yours,

Encl. 2

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
GANDHI ASHRAM
THIRUCHENGODU

From a microfilm: S.N. 19351

107. LETTER TO SUNDER SWARUP

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You are at liberty to translate whatever you like from *Young India* but you may not publish anything under my authority because I cannot check your translations. Whatever therefore you do you must do on your sole responsibility and without mentioning my name in connection with your venture. All I can do is to remove any legal hindrance from your way and that is removed by this letter.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SUNDER SWARUP
LANDHANRA HOUSE
MEERUT CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19352

108. A LETTER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I wish indeed that I could visit Europe and see so many of my unknown European friends. But for the time being, I feel I must not leave India. When I feel that the way is clear for me, I shall not hesitate to go to Europe. Till that time we must meet one another through correspondence. Nor will

1 *Vide* "A Dull Dialogue", 18-3-1926.

it be possible at the present moment to send Mr. Andrews or any other friends. Mr. Andrews is away in South Africa. He returns next month but the work here is already cut out[1] for him and it will keep him for several months.

There is no doubt about it that Tolstoy's writings had a powerful effect on me. He strengthened my love of non-violence. He enabled me to see things more clearly than I had done before. His manner of putting this is all his own. At the same time I know that there were fundamental differences between us and though they will abide, they are of little consequence compared with so many things for which I shall feel ever grateful to him. My patriotism is patent enough; my love for India is ever growing but it is derived from my religion and is therefore in no sense exclusive.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 19353

109. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 11, 1926

Here is another cable from South Africa. I wonder if you or Sorabji sent any reply to Hajee's first cable referred to in the accompanying. If nothing was sent do please send a satisfactory reply now.

The reply I have sent to the enclosed cable is as follows:

"Sent opinion Delhi Committee week ago."

Yours,

Encl. 1

From a photostat: S.N. 19354

[1] The source has: "cut up".

110. LETTER TO T. K. MADHAVAN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 11, 1926

MY DEAR MADHAVAN,

I have your letter. I am glad of the settlement at Suchindram. Dr. Naidoo did telegraph to me about it and I wrote him in reply that I would not notice it in the pages of *Young India* till I had a full text of the settlement. I now see that it is all confidential. I suppose therefore I must say nothing about it.

I do not at all like the idea of your resigning the membership as a protest against the Dewan's ruling. If every member who considers some ruling to be unjust were to resign there would be no member left. We must not become judges in our own suits in the manner you have been. How do you know your interpretation is right and the Dewan's wrong? Of course I know nothing of the merits but I know the principle on which resignation by way of protest can be tendered. The injustice of the ruling may be a cause for moving the adjournment of the house or making a simple statement and doing many other things, but surely not for resignation. I would like every act of yours to be well-considered and dignified. Your responsibility is much greater than an ordinary member's because you are a representative of suppressed classes and unfortunately even an error of judgment on your part will be magnified whereas many stupidities on the part of ordinary members will be condoned.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. K. MADHAVAN
TRIVANDRUM LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY MEMBER
TRIVANDRUM

From a microfilm: S.N. 19355

111. LETTER TO SURESH BABU

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 11, 1926

DEAR SURESH BABU,

Your letter was received after I telegraphed to you. Lest you may not find time to come here, I want to say in reply to your letter that it was wrong on your part to have delayed completion of the contract form pending satisfaction.

Regarding the difficulties mentioned by you, I will still advise you to finish the contract before you ask the Secretary to consider the many points raised by you. I ask this because it was upon my own personal desire that money was sent to you without the conclusion of formalities. In the first instance it was a departure from the methods that a big corporation like the All-India Spinners' Association should really follow.

If you can possibly come here the majority of the things mentioned by you can be dealt with satisfactorily. I had expected from you a full description of the Poet's visit to the Ashram.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19356

112. MESSAGE TO "LIBERATOR"

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 11, 1926

The *Liberator* has an ambitious programme. If it succeeds in any single one of the items enumerated in the notice before me it will have earned the name Swami Shraddhanandji has chosen to give his latest creation.

The notice before me rightly places emphasis upon the work of liberating the suppressed classes but there are still more numerous classes held under suppression by our insane desire to clothe ourselves in foreign cloth. And they are not a fifth of the population of India but they are four-fifths and if the *Liberator* will liberate villages from the temptation of cities, I venture to suggest that the task is an impossibility without the spinning-wheel.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19357



113. LETTER TO CHUNILAL

ASHRAM,
March 11, 1926

BHAI CHUNILALJI,

I have your letter; I have also gone through your scheme. I do not see any substance in it. Cow-slaughter goes on only in towns and there is only one way of checking it viz., to bid higher than the butchers at the sales. This is possible only if we realize expense on all the cows that we recover, which again is not possible unless we take to dairy farming and as a matter of religion start trading in hides, etc., from carcasses. Since we escape beef-eating by taking cow's milk we regard it as sacred. In the same way since we thereby save the cattle from being butchered we should regard it our sacred duty to utilize their carcasses for hides, bones, etc. Now we find ourselves facing two things: one to seek the help of dairy and tanning technicians; second to disabuse the minds of the people and convince them that it is not only righteous but also religious to deal in hides, bones, etc., of dead animals. If my view is correct, we may run our *goshalas* and *pinjrapoles* on the model of dairies and tanneries.

The work of cow-protection has now become humdrum; the reason is that though we collect lacs of rupees under this pretext we have not been able in actual fact to save a single cow. On the contrary, cow-slaughter is on the increase since their prices have gone down owing to the lack of scientific knowledge of cow-protection.

You may read this to the convention if you wish to.

From a photostat of the Hindi: S.N. 12398

114. MESSAGE TO THE "HINDUSTANI"

[*March 12, 1926*]

Whoever asks me for a message for his paper makes a serious mistake if he is not a lover of the spinning-wheel and khadi for I can think of nothing else much less can I write of anything else. All around me I see distresses, dissensions, and defeats and consequent dejection. The one solace I find and therefore recommend is the spinning. It gives me peace and it gives me joy in the thought

that through it I establish an indissoluble bond between the lowliest in the land and myself. Through the wheel and by my personal labour I add something to the desirable wealth of the country. I contribute my quota however humble towards clothing the naked through it and I invite the poorest in the land to labour for their living rather than beg for it.

The wheel stands above all discord and differences. It is or should be the common property of every Indian. If then the *Hindustani* stands for the political uplift of the country and its readers appreciate its object, they cannot do better than give to the spinning-wheel at least half an hour per day and reject foreign or mill-made cloth and use only hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar and thus distribute whatever they pay for khaddar amongst the poorest in the land.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19358

115. LETTER TO SARDUL SINGH CAVEESAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your two letters. In answer to the general letter here is my article or message, whatever you may call it, for the *Hindustani*.

Your second letter makes painful reading. There is nothing to be done but to let the fury work itself out and if we who know the evil of these dissensions and self-seeking survive the shock all will be well.

The copy of your third letter is deeply interesting. Your jail experience is very useful. Your impressions of the things as you see them after your discharge from the prison provoke deep thinking. I agree with you that non-co-operation has not failed and that we have not seen the last of it. I agree also that swaraj is nearer than many may think. The whole thing resolves itself into conversion of the educated classes. This is bound to happen if some of us remain true as I know we will. The attitude of a staunch non-co-operationist like myself towards the Swarajists requires fairly elaborate argument. I shall not therefore deal with it here. Put in one sentence, I can say that my attitude is based upon the hope that most is to be expected from them in the way of a forward policy.

It is quite true that the spinning-wheel cannot be introduced as a subsidiary employment amongst those like the Punjab farmers whose time is almost fully occupied with more profitable concerns. But the middle class who have always ample time to waste if they feel for their country as a whole should think of the millions of paupers and for their sake wear khaddar and spin for half an hour per day by way of example and encouragement if nothing else. Its greatest political value should not escape your keen penetrative intellect. It lies in the fact that millions who are today leading less than animal life will have an honourable occupation and a means of livelihood. Today they can be induced to do nothing whilst they are passive instruments of submission to any tyrant. And why does khaddar lose its political importance because I invited Lord Reading to use it? Will non-co-operation or civil disobedience lose their importance if I invited Lord Reading to take to either or both?

Lastly, civil revolution on a mass scale I hold to be an impossibility unless we acquire sufficient control and influence over the masses so as to ensure their abstention from disturbing the peace of the country by a violent demonstration. Every time in the past when I have called off Civil Resistance upon outbreak of violence, you will find that Congressmen had a hand in it and that therefore it had a political value. I should not hesitate to go forward even if there were a thousand eruptions in the country if I was sure that they had nothing to do with the political upheaval and that Congressmen had no hand in them directly or indirectly.

Regarding my health I am certainly weak but you have given me full credit by hoping that I know the value of my life much better than any of my admirers. I assure you that I shall try to conserve it to the best of my ability but old age will overtake the most careful men. On the whole I think that I am keeping very good health.

Yours sincerely,

SARDAR SARDUL SINGH CAVEESAR
LODGE LIBERTY
RAM GALI, LAHORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 19358

116. LETTER TO A SUBSCRIBER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

It is a novel suggestion of yours that you should send as subscription for *Young India* hand-spun yarn. There is no rule made in this connection and there is no facility in *Young India* office for receipt of yarn in lieu of subscription but if you send 50,000 yards of 20 counts evenly-spun, well-twisted yarn to my personal address, I shall see that it is accepted in lieu of subscription, that is to say, it will be taken by the Ashram and the money will be paid to the *Young India* Office. 50,000 yards of yarn is rather an over-estimate and not an under-estimate but it is not possible to put the exact estimate and receive the yarn. I shall have to get it examined and tested before acceptance. If you decide to send this yarn, please make it into proper strands of 500 yards each because if the yarn causes any difficulty in testing or counting it will not be accepted in lieu of subscription and it will have to be returned if you so desire against payment of postal charges.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19359

117. APPEAL FOR INDIAN ARTS AND CRAFTS

SABARMATI,
March 12, 1926

The Gujarat Vidyapith has a school of Indian Arts (nothing very ambitious as yet) attached to it. It is now intended to develop this department by adding a picture gallery and a museum of Indian arts and crafts. Prof. Malkani[1] is in charge of the organization of this work. The Vidyapith will be grateful for any help that may be given to Prof. Malkani by lovers of Indian arts and crafts.

M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 19360

[1] N. R. Malkani, later member, Rajya Sabha

118. LETTER TO DEEPAK CHOUDHRI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 12, 1926

CHI. DEEPAK,

I have your letter. Now I am quite all right. Your handwriting has now much improved and your language too. Nowadays the Ashram is quite crowded.

If you are keen on military training, how can I stop you? Do as your mother says. My opinion in this regard differs from hers. I therefore do not want to confuse your mind. I only wish you well and prefer to remain silent.

I hope both of you are keeping well.

Blessings from
BAPU

3, SUNNY PARK
BALLYGUNG, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19859

119. LETTER TO LALLUBHAI B. PATEL

ASHRAM,
Friday, March 12, 1926

BHAI LALLUBHAI,

I have your letter. I think it is barbarous to pierce a girl's ears or nose [for ornaments].

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SHRI LALLUBHAI BAKORBHAI PATEL
NAPAD
TALUK ANAND

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19858

120. LETTER TO KASTURCHAND S. MARFATIA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, March 12[1], *1926*

BHAISHRI KASTURCHAND,

I have your letter. I do not understand the marriage of Shri . . . and Smt. . . . . For my part I do not approve of widow marriages in general. I have on occasion explained through *Navajivan* the circumstances in which widow marriage may be desirable. I cannot go further than that. Moreover, I believe broadly in the *varnashrama dharma*[2]. From this point of view also the marriage does not commend itself to me. But I am absolutely not prepared to discuss it in public. I do not think such a discussion can any way serve public interest. And as long as I do not know what the couple have to say, I have no right, I think, to judge in this matter. I have therefore indicated to you my opinion in general, but certainly not for publication. I have mentioned certain aspects of this marriage which appear improper to me on the face of it without closer consideration or examination.

SHRI KASTURCHAND SURCHAND MARFATIA
SABARKANTHA BOARDING HOUSE
MAMMADEVI, BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19860

121. LETTER TO ANANDAPRIYA

SABARMATI,
March 13, 1926

BHAI ANANDAPRIYAJI,

I have your letter. I have looked at the handbill; certainly it is obscene. But we had better take no notice of it. Such matters acquire some importance only when we give them any attention.

[1] The original has 13 which, however, was not a Friday.

[2] The traditional fourfold structure of Hindu society and the four stages of individual life

And many people indulge in this kind of activity just to come into the limelight. Later, if necessary, I may explain a point or two.

KARELIBAG
BARODA

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19861

122. LETTER TO SUKHDEV PRASAD SINHA

SABARMATI,
March 13, 1926

BHAI SHUKHDEV PRASAD SINHA,

Your letter. A vow applies to only good deeds. One does not resolve to do something wrong. If through ignorance one should make any such vow it is one's duty to break it. For instance if one had vowed to commit adultery, one should withdraw from it promptly, on coming to one's senses. If one does not, one sins.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19862

123. DISTRUST, OR LEGITIMATE PRECAUTION?

A lover of the spinning-wheel writes in pain as follows:[1]

Personally I think there was nothing in the suggestion made by the Association which could pain anyone. The question how many members had asked for the return of their yarn is beside the point. The pertinent question is whether anyone had done so. The answer to this will be found in the note in *Navajivan.* If the yarn is not returned, how can any member then supply the same yarn again? If, however, we want to know reasons for distrust, there are plenty of them. The same yarn was given by many members again and again to get themselves enrolled as members of the Congress. Not only this, but even the Congress committee had openly used the same bundles over and over again. Taking certain precautions, however, does not imply distrust and should certainly not be understood in that light. It is not distrust of their children which prompts parents to place cer-

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had expressed his pain at the note "For Self-spinners" in *Navajivan*, 4-3-1926; *vide* p. 69 above.

tain restrictions on them, but the knowledge of the laxity to which human nature is inclined in the absence of precautions. Following the same principle, institutions frame rules in the nature of restraints on their members for their protection and men and women impose restrictions on themselves which we know as vows, to save themselves from yielding to temptations. That people do not feel drawn to join the Association, this indeed is the real trouble. To say that they do not feel drawn is as much as to say that they do not believe it can do any good. Were it not so, why should not thousands and hundreds of thousands of men and women contribute yarn for the selfless *yajna* which the Spinners' Association has organized? If, however, the people do not feel drawn to it, is that any reason why the organizers, too, should remain slack? Should they cheapen membership of the Association? We ought to get rid of the false notion that there is no gain in anything which does not fill one's pocket. If the members hold the Association in high esteem, sooner or later the world will accept it at their estimation, for the cause it serves is a sacred one. Just as, to a mother, her child is more beautiful than other children, so should an institution be dear to those who run it and to its thoughtful members, even if the world thinks little of them and, therefore, of their institution. If the person who first repeated the name of Rama by way of prayer had felt ashamed of doing so or valued the name as merely helping him to get the pleasures of heaven, Rama would have been today no more than one among the thirty-three crores of gods. But that devotee of Rama linked the name with *moksha*, and the result has been that a good many people have attained *moksha* by uttering Rama's name in prayer. God is always at the service of his devotees; He is ever the Servant of His servants. He justifies the devotee's faith. What is true about God and His devotees is also true about an institution and its organizers. I hope, therefore, that my correspondent, a lover of the spinning-wheel, will forget his pain and be happy instead, that he will look upon the Spinners' Association as no ordinary institution and will be able to see, and will help others to see, that some effort is required to get back one's yarn from the Association. The value of his yarn, then, will rise in his eyes. Those who have money, therefore, and wish, to their great credit, to wear cloth woven from yarn spun by themselves, should welcome the restrictions laid down by the Secretary of the Production Section. I would, however, most certainly suggest that the members should welcome the yarn given to the All-India Spinners' Association being utilized for the benefit of the whole

country. It would be more commendable on their part to look upon such yarn as an offering in a *yajna* and not to wish to have it returned.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 14-3-1926

124. HOW TO TACKLE EVIL CUSTOMS

A gentleman writes[1]:

The principle which we have applied to the system of British Government is applicable here also. If the people co-operate in order not to allow that system to continue, its foundation will go; it will crumble right today. Similarly, if one wishing to end the empire of evil customs offers non-co-operation that empire will certainly crack up. The question naturally arises as to what purpose will be served if only one person non-co-operates thus. One answer to this is that he who launches non-co-operation wins and becomes free from faults, and the empire is weakened to the extent of the loss of his co-operation. A house does not collapse if a single brick is removed, but everyone realizes that from the day the brick came off the house has certainly begun to get weakened. While it is difficult for the first brick to get loose, it is not so for the second brick to fall away or get removed. Every reform in the world has been initiated by the efforts of one man. Today even an appropriate atmosphere has been created in respect of evil customs like child-marriage, etc. Those who regard them as evil customs are lax only in regard to acting against them. If we today try to take an opinion poll, the majority will hold that customs like child-marriage and spending lavishly on marriages are evil and costly dresses of foreign material are reprehensible and evil. Majority opinion can be had against other such evil customs. Despite this, they have not disappeared because those who are opposed to them are truly speaking weak and, while they are brave in bragging, they are afraid to act. That cowardice will disappear only when a number of people refrain from attending such functions even by putting themselves to trouble.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 14-3-1926

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had asked how one could rid one's caste of customs like child-marriage, use of costly foreign dresses and lavish expenditure on marriages.

125. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 14, 1926

MY DEAR C. R.,

I have seen your telegram to Shankerlal as also your letter to Mahadev. It is a sad thing that Santanam has left you. The letter you sent me betrayed faulty reasoning. Is it not possible to show to him that he is altogether wrong in thinking that because he cannot do all things at the same time he should do none at all?

I wonder if you got absolution from attending at Patna. I hope you did but if you did not I hope you would be able to make time for passing through Sabarmati. Kripalani is going to Patna tomorrow and I have charged him to bring you here if you have come to Patna.

Anyway if you cannot come do tell me of all your difficulties in detail and tell me also whether I can be of any help in any way whatsoever. Tell me too whether you expect to be able to give any time whatsoever to touring during the year and if so how much and when. Do you want me to write to Santanam myself?

Yours,

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
TIRUCHENGODU

From a photostat: S.N. 19361

126. LETTER TO RAJ BAHADUR

ASHRAM,
March 14, 1926

BHAISHRI,

Your letter. I am glad to note your love of khadi. Plying the *takli* costs nothing. I do believe some people are doing it in Patiala also. Those used to spinning on the wheel can learn to spin on the *takli* with little effort and by themselves.

You must have got the receipt for your money. Since it is no more necessary to send money to Utkal this amount has been

appropriated to khadi work. The purpose behind khaddar too is to help people who are similarly distressed.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SJT. RAJBAHADUR, RETIRED D. P. I.
PATIALA

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19863

127. LETTER TO BRIJ KRISHNA CHANDIWALA

Sunday [March] 14 [1926][1]

BHAI BRIJKRISHNA,

I have your letter. I can understand your grief. Some sorrows, only time can cure. We should therefore keep our peace meanwhile. If your resolve is firm, and since you have not yet chosen a field of work and a marriage is not likely to be proposed so long as you do not become self-supporting, you can very well persuade your mother and your elder brother, telling them about your resolve firmly but with due humility. If your mind is still wavering and a desire for conjugal life lingers in your heart, the best course is to act according to the elders' advice. True, a well-to-do widower finds it difficult to avoid a second marriage. He alone might escape for whom a second marriage is very painful. I would advise you to think over it with a quiet mind and in solitude. You may then act as you are impelled. I can only show you how [to come to a decision]. While actually making a decision, you should put aside my advice as well as all other suggestions and follow fearlessly the dictates of your own heart. May God soon grant peace to your daughter.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2350

[1] The month and the year are taken from a microfilm (S.N. 19866).

128. LETTER TO MANGALBHAI S. PANCHAL

March 14, 1926

BHAI MANGALBHAI,

I have your letter. Please excuse me for the delay in replying. For your sake I should like to read from *Bhaktarajni Yatra*[1] at half past six, but I am helpless as this time does not suit some hundred men and women as well as the students. The ultimate purpose of all religious reading is to establish us in devotion to our duty. It does not matter if one who is aware of this misses such discourses. If you can come without any inconvenience it is well and good but it is not worth coming over at the cost of your work.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI M. SHANABHAI PANCHAL
LUNSAWADA, AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19865

129. LETTER TO AYODHYA PRASAD

ASHRAM,
March 14, 1926

BHAI AYODHYA PRASADJI,

I have your letter. I do not at present intend to get involved in the controversy whether a rise or fall in food-grain prices is in the interest of the farmer. But the spinning-wheel is in a way related to this question. With the progress of the wheel India's biggest industry can be revived and that again through the poor farmers. Thus in any event the charkha movement is in the best interests of the farmers. If it is a fact that for at least four months farmers remain idle then the movement which brings so much work must mean a rise in their earnings. Looking at the charkha movement from this angle, we shall realize that khaddar is not a matter merely of swadeshi but one of bringing a new industry into the farmer's household.

Yours,

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19864

[1] Gujarati rendering of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*

130. LETTER TO A. A. PAUL[1]

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 15, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Eight months is a long time for me to be away from India. I should understand however the details of the programme and the nature of the work I would be expected to do. I should also like to know what place Chinese Christians occupy in the national movement and whether I will be expected to address only Christian audiences. I won't come to a hasty decision, and if I go at all the only inducement would be a prospect of serving China by inducing her to accept the message of non-violence for her freedom. To think the matter out clearly I think it is necessary for some representative Chinese to come here, discuss things with me and find out for themselves whether there is really one mind between them and me. I have no desire to go there for a mere spectacular demonstration.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 11365

131. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

Monday [*March 15, 1926*][2]

CHI. JAMNALAL,

About Mussoorie I feel very bad today. I do not feel like going there or anywhere for that matter. I need no change of climate. I get all the rest I require and if I can attend to some work here, it will serve as therapy. I have several reasons for not leaving the Ashram. Leaving the Ashram might upset me. I want to be free, if you can release me with full understanding of the situation. I shall certainly go to Mussoorie if you think I must. But I write this because it is only proper, I think, to let you know the agony of my mind today. I shall also consult Shankerlal about this.

[1] In reply to his letter dated March 9, 1926 (S.N. 11364)

[2] The source bears the remark: "Replied by wire, 19-3-1926, Delhi."

Satisbabu arrived yesterday. Dr. Suresh comes on Saturday.

Manibehn does not want to stay with you. She wants to improve her Gujarati. Even then Madalasa[1] should stay with Janakibehn[2]. If she stays long at the Ashram, she will automatically pick up a lot.

Take a close look at the Kanya Gurukul and write to me. Also let me know the number of girls in the institution.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2859

132. *LETTER TO NAJUKLAL NANDLAL CHOKSI*

Monday, March 15, 1926

BHAI NAJUKLAL,

I wanted to reply to your letter at leisure. Today is my silence day; so I can spare the time. I catch the meaning hidden in a certain statement in your letter. I can see that the reply cannot be just "what I please". I have always regarded you as Moti's teacher and you can prove one if you will restrain yourself. We have tyrannized much over the gentler sex. Now that they are trained to become free, they may go too far. But we should not be alarmed. Of course, you should be patient and help Moti see all this. I am ever ready to help you. I read her letters carefully and I too am pained. I see no love in her letters, nor even any interest. Moti writes just to be done with it. She would drop it if she could. Write to me, if you think it proper to release her from her vow. We must not force her to write. Even her handwriting shows no improvement.

I hope you are at peace. May you get completely well. I do not at all want to interfere in your domestic affairs. Whatever I have said so far is in a friendly way. Do as you please.

You may read this letter to Moti. How can the child know my love?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12119

[1] Addressee's daughter
[2] Addressee's wife

133. LETTER TO P. G. MALKANI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 16, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I have made careful enquiry and I can find no trace of the draft mentioned by you. It is evident that the draft has been miscarried somewhere. It is however fortunate that it has not been cashed by anybody. If you still desire to send the amount, please do so to the above address.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. G. MALKANI
HD. TOWN, MANGHA ASTAN, KARACHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 19362

134. INTERVIEW TO KATHERINE MAYO[1]

March 17, 1926

My message to America is simply the hum of this wheel. Letters and newspaper cuttings I get from America show that one set of people overrates the results of Non-violent Non-co-operation and the other set not only underrates it but imputes all kinds of motives to those who are concerned with the movement. Don't exaggerate one way or the other. If therefore some earnest Americans will study the movement impartially and patiently then it is likely that the United States may know something of the movement which I do consider to be unique although I am the author of it. What I mean is that our movement is summed up in the spinning-wheel with all its implications. It is to me a substitute for gun-powder. For, it brings the message of self-reliance and hope to the millions of India. And when they are really awakened they would not need to lift their little finger in order to regain their freedom. The message of the spinning-wheel is, really,

[1] Katherine Mayo in her letter dated 24-3-1926 says: "In accordance with the message received through your Secretary, I am mailing to you with this my transcribed notes of your statement on the 17th. I have left deliberate spaces where there is some doubt of some exact words. I shall of course greatly appreciate amplification or correction and return . . ." (S.N. 12449); *vide* also "Letter to Katherine Mayo", 9-4-1926.

to replace the spirit of exploitation by the spirit of service. The dominant note in the West is the note of exploitation. I have no desire that my country should copy the spirit of that note.

(As to the effects of multiplication of means of travel and transportation:)

All that is coming to smother us, not to deliver us. I can only say. I hope that we shall be spared that affliction. But it may be we shall have to drink the bitter cup. If we do not learn by the experience of the West, we may have to drink it. But I am leaving no stone unturned to avoid that catastrophe. The powers of the West, however much they have fought amongst themselves, have agreed on this: "Let us exploit the other nations—Asia and Africa". They are keeping up to that agreement with extraordinary accuracy. Suppose we reciprocate. Suppose we learn all the tricks of our Western teachers—What will happen? A mightier copy of what happened in August 1914. It will come if Europe and America continue to say: "We shall be top dogs and you others shall be bottom dogs" and we do not learn the message of non-violence and understand that we have but to cease to buy from you what we do not need. Therefore in spite of all evidence to the contrary, I do my best not to co-operate with that spirit of exploitation. I decline to copy even though I am but one in three hundred millions. At least I shall die with the satisfaction of knowing I die in doing what my conscience directs.

We can be exploited only with our own consent, whether forced or willing, conscious or unconscious, and only if we buy all sorts of attractive things that Europe and America produce. Mainly clothing. This we can avoid because we have not yet quite lost the cunning of our hands. The task of so providing for our needs will prove no burden but can be met just as we eat and drink—a little at a time in the course of each day, during spare hours. There are many things today for which I am dependent on the West. When I am sure that I take only what is better done there and what is beneficent to me, it will be an honourable, free and mutually advantageous bargain. But what is now done is a bargain destructive to both sides. For exploitation is as bad for one as for the other.

I want this country to be spared Dyerism. That is, I do not want my country, when it has the power, to resort to frightfulness in order to impose her custom on others. Very often we have to learn by hard experience, but if I believe that every one of us had to go in a vicious circle and do just what every other has done, I should know that no progress is possible and should preach

the doctrine of suicide. But we hope, and train our children in the hope, that they will avoid the mistakes of their fathers. Indeed I see signs, very faint, but unmistakable, of a better day in the West. A tremendous movement is going on in the West today to retrace steps. There is much progress in the thought world, although little is as yet translated into action. But what the thinkers are thinking today, tomorrow will be action.

I have almost daily visits from Americans, not in idle curiosity, not in the spirit of "Let us see this animal in the Indian Zoo", but from real interest to know my ideas. Those who see the poverty of India and feel grieved should probe under the surface and find its real cause. It is not as if it were slowly decreasing. It is growing, in spite of hospitals, schools, metalled roads and railways. In spite of all these you find the people are being ground down as between two millstones. They live in enforced idleness. A century ago every cottage was able to replenish its resources by means of the spinning-wheel. Now every farmer, scratching the earth only a few inches deep with the wooden plough, works in the season of cultivation. But he cannot do much work in the other seasons of the year. What are he, his children and his women then to do? The women sat at the wheel in the old days and sang something not obscene—not trash—but a song to the Maker of us all. The children imbibed it and so this custom was handed down and the children had it, although they were without polish or literary education. But now it has all but died away. The mother is groaning under poverty, her spirit is darkened. She has no milk. As soon as the child is weaned, she has only gruel to give it, that ruins the intestines.

What am I to ask these millions to do? To migrate from their farms? To kill off their babies? Or shall I give them what occupation I can, to relieve their lot?

I take to them the gospel of hope—the spinning-wheel—saying, "I do this thing myself, side by side with you, and I give you coppers for your yarn. I take your yarn that you have spun in your own place, in your own time, at your own sweet will." She [the mother] listens with a little bit of hope in her eyes. At the end of five weeks during which she has had help and co-operation regularly, I find light in her eyes. "Now", she says, "I shall be able to get milk for my baby". Then if she can have this work regularly she re-establishes a happy home. Multiply that scene by three hundred millions and you have a fair picture of what I am hoping for.

The testimony of the English historian (official) Sir William Hunter, first showed that the poverty of the masses is growing rather than decreasing. The villages I have visited show it. The East India Company records show it. In those days we were exporters not exploiters. We delivered our goods faithfully. We had no gun-boats to send for punishing those who would not buy our goods. We sent out the most wonderful fabrics the world has produced. We exported diamonds, gold, spices. We had our fair share of iron ore. We had indigenous and unfadable dyes. All that is now gone. Not to speak of Dacca muslin, which was mistaken for dew. I can't produce it today, but I hope to.

The East India Company came to buy, and remained to sell. It compelled us to cut off our thumbs. They stood over us and made us behave against our wills till thousands of us cut off our thumbs. This is no figment of my imagination but can be verified from the records of the East India Company. Do I lay the blame on Britain? Certainly I do! By means the foulest imaginable our trade was captured and then killed by them in order to make a market for their own goods. Practically at the point of the bayonet they forced us to work. For suppose I am tired of work—tired as we were tired till we cut off our thumbs to avoid being driven farther—is not that the pressure of the bayonet? This is the history of how our skill was lost.

You say that the spinning-wheel, a few generations ago a household tool in the West, has there also disappeared. But they of the West who spun and spin no more were free men and gave it up by choice. They had a substitute for the spinning-wheel. Here we have no substitute even now for the millions. If an Indian farmer wants to set up a soap factory or a basket factory, can he do it? Where can he sell his produce? But I am trying to induce the people to understand the secret of the wheel. Compulsion that comes from within is different from that which is superimposed upon you. I would teach my people to resist that outer compulsion, to the point of death.

There is difficulty in now reviving the art of spinning because the people have lost their liking for it. It is difficult to teach the habit of work to a people who have lost all hope and who have done no work for years and years. And our rich men think that they can redress all the wrongs they have done in amassing their riches by throwing a handful of rice in the faces of the poor. Whereby they only spoil them so that if I go afterwards with cotton in one hand and coppers in the other I suffer in consequence. And I can bring no force to bear, I have no power of

government at my back to compel them. So my task goes slowly. I have to plod. Yet thousands spin today who did not spin last year. My success when it comes will lead to the development of other home industries and in the meantime the central difficulty will be solved because the vast mass of our troubles proceeds from enforced idleness.

Untouchability can be cured by those who understand being true to themselves. You saw the squabble that arose in the Hindu Mahasabha. But untouchability is going in spite of all opposition, and going fast. It has degraded Indian humanity. The "untouchables" are treated as if less than beasts. Their very shadow defiles, in the name of God. I am as strong, or stronger, in denouncing untouchability as I am in denouncing British methods imposed on India. Untouchability for me is more insufferable than British rule. If Hinduism hugs untouchability, then Hinduism is dead and gone, in spite of the lofty message of the Upanishads and the *Gita* —as pure as crystal. But what is the teaching worth if their practice denies it.

QUESTION: Would not the young men be doing better service to the country if, instead of fighting for political advantage, they effaced themselves, went to the villages, and gave their lives to the people?

ANSWER: Surely. But that is a counsel of perfection. All the teaching that we have received in the Universities has made us clerks or platform orators. I never heard the word spinning-wheel in all my school days. I never had any teacher, Indian or English, who taught me to go to the villages. All their teaching was to aspire to government positions. To them the I.C.S. was almost a heaven-born thing, and the height of worldly ambition was to become a member of Council. Even today I am told I must go to the Council, to tell the Government the needs of the people and debate them on the floor of the House. No one says "Go to the villages". That movement has come in spite of the contrary teaching in schools. Our young people have become dis-Indianized. They are unaccustomed to the life of the villages. There you have to live in insanitary conditions. If you won't take the spade and shovel in your own hands, you will die a miserable death from dirt and infection. I have lost some of my own workers because of malaria although they knew the laws of health. The movement towards the villages has come but it is slow.

My desire is to destroy the present system of government but not to drive away the British people. I do not mean to say that the British meant to do me harm. But self-deception is the

most horrible crime of which human nature is capable. And the bayonet of the old days yet remains in some shape. I have rechristened it Dyerism. And I would like to see the Briton utterly gone except as he remains as India's employee, in India's pay. For this he might as well be a Frenchman, a German, or a Chinaman. The Briton has admirable qualities—because he is a human being. I would say the same of an Arab or a Negro from South Africa.

"Am I not afraid, once the British have gone, of internecine strife? Of the hordes of Afghanistan?" Yes, but these are possibilities that I would welcome. We are fighting today, but fighting in our hearts. The daggers are simply concealed. When the Wars of the Roses were going on, if the European powers had intervened to impose peace, where would Britain be today?

From a photostat: S.N. 12445

135. LETTER TO B. C. ROY

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 17, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am so glad that you are at last able to make a beginning with the Memorial Hospital. The date[1] is happily chosen. Please wish Basanti Devi many returns of the day and tell her that she is wanted for many a year to come, if only in order to make the Hospital which was so dear to her husband's heart a thorough success.

I should love to be with you at the opening ceremony but that for the reason you know I may not do. All my best wishes will be with you on the opening day.

Yours sincerely,

DR. BIDHAN CH. ROY
CALCUTTA

Forward, 23-3-1926

[1] March 21, birthday of Basanti Devi, was the date for the opening ceremony of Chittaranjan Seva Sadan by Rabindranath Tagore.

136. LETTER TO DR. SATYAPAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 17, 1926

DEAR DR. SATYAPAL,

Here is a message for 'Phulwari'.

The sooner the brave Sikhs put their house in order and thus prove their bravery the better it is for them and India. Bravery is simple, never complex. It is dignified, never shoddy. It is noble, never mean. It is ever forgiving, never revengeful. It ever sheds its protective fragrance about it, never strikes wherever it goes. It is a guarantee of peace[1] not of war. It is an epitome of concord, never spells discord. Do the Sikhs satisfy all these tests? If not, it is time they did. For, they are pledged to free not merely the Punjab Gurudwaras but the great Indian Gurudwara of swaraj.

Yours sincerely,

DR. SATYAPAL
BRADLAUGH HALL
LAHORE

From a photostat: S.N. 19363

137. LETTER TO BURRA SATYANARAYANA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 17, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I remember you well and I have pleasant recollections of my visit to your place. Please tell the friend in Burma that though I took the arsenic and iron injections, I retain the same views I have expressed in my writings about drugs and doctors. It is one thing to hold an ideal and another thing to live up to it. At the present moment friends insinuate that I am no longer master of my own body, that they and others are as much interested in it as I am and by their specious reasoning make me believe that I am one of the trustees for the up-keep of the body

[1] The source has "thieves" which appears to be a slip.

and thus entitled to pamper it. And so friends like the one in Burma rightly find an inconsistency between the ideal I have professed and the practice that I am now following. Tell the friend in Burma therefore that until he becomes a Mahatma like me, he must rigidly adhere to the resolution never to touch drugs and invite doctors and if he keeps to that narrow but straight path it will be well with him. Tell him also in secret that though I yielded to the blandishments of friends, I have not taken more than 30 grains of quinine in doses of 5 grains or even 2½ each for five days and not more than 5 injections of arsenic and iron one per week.

I am afraid you are indulging in a vain hope that I shall fill in the blank after "But now!" I cannot do so until I see khadi becoming almost universal. Its success to that extent is the only demonstration of the middle class people having understood the secret of non-violence. When that event happens, I should be quite ready to fill in the blank.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. BURRA SATYANARAYANA
35, PETERS ROAD
MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 19364

138. LETTER TO URMILA DEVI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 17, 1926

MY DEAR SISTER,

I have your heart-rending letter. It seems you will never be free from troubles. I was wondering why I had not heard from you for such a long time as a letter was overdue from you.

You need evidently a prolonged stay in Kashmir. You invite me to Puri and you hold out the temptation that you will be with me all the time I am there. But I am not my own master in this matter. If I was, at the present moment I am enjoying so much rest and peace at the Ashram that I would not like to leave it. Heat is no terror for me. I can sustain it well especially as I have no active work to do but Jamnalalji and Shankerlal Banker are my managers and I am under promise to them to go to a hill station. If sea-side would answer the purpose I have a place

better even than Puri though not known at all and it is only a few miles from my birthplace where I can get perfect quiet and rustic life without the insolent palaces that frown upon you in Puri and the distressful sight of famine-stricken people who flock to the temple to get a handful of dirty rice from the pilgrims. Puri reminds me not of the holy associations it once had but of the degradation to which we have been reduced now. For, is it not now a sanatorium for the soldiers who are paid with our own money to suppress our liberty? Puri has no attraction for me. It makes me sad to think of it. And I felt miserable all the time I was there though friends had put me in a most comfortable place just facing the sea-side and were covering me with extraordinary kindness. But they had no remedy for the mental torture that I was going through as I contemplated the barracks and the misery of those starving Oriyans and the callous indifference of the moneyed people.

I can thoroughly understand the wonderful behaviour of your sister. I wish her all success in her defiance of drugs and doctors. I envy her courage. She will quit her body, even as the *Bhagavad Gita* describes, joyfully, i.e., even as an owner leaves his house which has given its use and is now about to crumble to pieces.

Yours sincerely,

SISTER URMILA DEVI
4 A., NAFAR KUNDU ROAD
CALCUTTA
C/O JUSTICE DAS
ALI MANZIL
PATNA[1]

From a photostat: S.N. 19365

[1] This second address is in pencil.

139. LETTER TO DINSHA M. MUNSHI

ASHRAM,
March 17, 1926

BHAISHRI MUNSHI,

I have your letter. What I said in the public meeting was in my public capacity. Thereby I do not commit myself. However, I do not remember having broken my promise which you mention. There must be some reason for [their] discontinuing your grant. I am sure it could not be just to spite you. And if there is any injustice in this matter, you can write to the Committee. As for a loan, I am helpless. I have not a single copper which I can call my own.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SHRI DINSHA MANCHERJI MUNSHI
RASHTRIYA VINAY MANDIR
NADIAD

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19869

140. LETTER TO GANGARAM CHHATRALA

ASHRAM,
March 17, 1926

BHAI GANGARAM,

Your letter. It indicates that the residents of the said neighbourhood belong predominantly to the Kadva Patidar community and they also own the houses there. If it is so, since everyone has a right to privacy in his own residence, the Patidars too, I think, should enjoy it. The case of South Africa is different. In South Africa there is a move to ruin the local population by depriving them of their established rights. If I am making a mistake, if the Patidar community are tyrannizing over anyone, then your non-co-operation would be justified.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SHRI GANGARAM KHODIDAS CHHATRALA
DARIAPUR, AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19870

141. NOTES

The National Week

The 6th and the 13th of April are never-to-be-forgotten days in our national life. The 6th of April, 1919 witnessed an unparalleled demonstration in which Hindus, Mussalmans and others joined freely. It was too a day of freedom for the suppressed classes. That day laid the foundation for true swadeshi. And it was the day when the whole country offered civil disobedience. The spirit of mass freedom and mass resistance was abroad.

The 13th April witnessed the Jallianwala massacre in which Hindu, Mussalman and Sikh blood mingled in one scarlet stream. A dungheap was turned in a day into a place of political pilgrimage for all India. It will remain that till India lives. Since that day many events have happened. Hope rose high in 1921 to be dashed seemingly to pieces the very moment it rose to the highest point. The tide has appeared to be ebbing ever since. We are passing through midnight gloom. Possibly we have not yet seen the worst.

But that sacred week is still our hope and therefore we must celebrate it even though we are rent in twain and the Government safely flouts national demands, be they ever so pressing and withal reasonable.

There is no perpetual night on God's earth. Ours too will have its ending. Only we must work for it. How to celebrate the week then? Not by hartal. Not yet by civil disobedience. We cannot proclaim or celebrate the unity of Hindus and non-Hindus, for we Hindus and Mussalmans distrust one another and seek to consolidate our strength and power rather through the Government favour than through mutual forbearance and help. That question must therefore for the time being be left to work itself out. Untouchability is slowly but surely dying. Khaddar alone lends itself to mass demonstration and mass effort. It is the platform on which all can work hand in hand. Sales can be organized. Voluntary spinning can be pushed. Collections can be made for the All-India Das Memorial Fund whose sole object is the promotion of the spinning-wheel and khaddar. There are no doubt many other ways of celebrating the national week. It is open to local workers to devise various ways. I can only think of things in which millions can take part, which remind us of those

seven days and which can promote swaraj. I can think of nothing else that satisfies all the conditions so well as the spinning-wheel.

Oh, that we can do one thing truly and well! It will restore lost self-confidence and it will give us a strength that can carry all before it. The spinning-wheel is the one thing which men, women, boys and girls of all classes and religions can work. It is the one thing that can establish a link between the rich and the poor and it is the one thing that can bring a ray of sunshine into the dark and dilapidated dungeon of the half-starved peasantry. Let those who have faith in the wheel work to make khaddar more popular during the national week.

Spinning in Municipal Schools

In reply to the circular letter of the Joint Secretary of the All-India Spinners' Association asking various Municipalities and District Boards to supply him with the progress made by hand-spinning in their schools, three letters have been so far received. One is from the Chairman, School Board, Ahmedabad Municipality. It is stated that:

> Two experts to train up spinning teachers for Municipal Girls' Schools were employed last year. The teachers underwent training for 6 months and it is now intended to introduce spinning as a compulsory subject in the Municipal Girls' School.

The Vice-Chairman of the Shahabad District Board says that eight primary schools had spinning introduced in 1925. Eight teachers of selected schools had special training in spinning and five wheels were supplied to each school. 139 boys of ages varying from 10 to 15 are now receiving instruction. The letter adds that "the work has been hitherto poor but better results are expected because the work has now become more systematized". The Board had spent up to 31st January last Rs. 274 out of Rs. 1,000 specially granted. According to the letter of the District Board of Basti:

> 15 boys spin regularly. 15 charkhas are at work. The average daily output is only one *chatak* (5 *tolas*); the yarn has been used for weaving *daris*[1]; only two have been completed and they are used in the school. Monthly expense is Rs. 20, being the salary of the teacher. The materials have cost up to now Rs. 81-2-0.

I trust that the other school Boards, if they have introduced hand-spinning in their curricula, will furnish information about

[1] Carpets

whatever progress spinning might have made in their schools. I have already remarked in these pages that experience has shown that for school spinning, the *takli* is the most convenient and the most profitable implement for spinning. The teachers, for one thing, are able to control the *takli* spinning of hundreds of boys and girls at a time. This is impossible with the spinning-wheel.

An Ingenious Suggestion

I have before me a letter from a satyagrahi prisoner who had over four years' experience of prison life. On his discharge I asked him to give me his experiences. In some respects his description is original. Instead of telling me all about the tyranny of the authorities and the hardships of jail life he has given me the results of his own introspection. I cull from his letter the following two paragraphs:

> Often I think that every student after he finishes his studies should perforce be sent to jail for six months at least. This, in my opinion, would do greater good to our boys than the Continental tour does to English boys. Voluntary *tapasya* is very difficult these days, but we can have easily almost all the fruits of *tapasya* for our boys if we put them in jail just before they enter life. During six months, shut out from the world outside, they will be able to digest what they have acquired in their schools and colleges and they will have some quiet to think seriously what use they should make of their attainments. It is not given to everybody outside the jail to think seriously; most of us live from hand to mouth as regards thought and action; our work is mostly based on impulse rather than thought. Why not let each of us go every year to jail, say for a month, and review the work done during the past year and prospect of work for the ensuing year?
>
> Another aspect of the jail life that drew my special attention was the way in which prisoners could live so cleanly, so economically, and so simply. But for corruption and the forced nature of confinement in prisons, these institutions could stand as models for our village and town folk who have to live on small wages.

Though there is from my point of view much left to be done in respect of sanitation in the prisons of India, I can corroborate the description given by my correspondent. Prison sanitation is certainly superior to the sanitation of our villages. In fact, it is want of sanitation which one regretfully observes in the villages, no matter in what part one visits them. Similarly, simplicity of the jail dietary is also commendable and if the middle classes were to simplify their diet there will be an enormous saving in their wealth and health.

The suggestion that the youth of the country should pass some time in the jails before embarking upon life and after finishing their scholastic career is certainly attractive, but how is it to be carried out? Unless a revival of civil disobedience gives the students a chance of seeking imprisonment, the only way for them to reproduce prison discipline is to bury themselves for a season at least in distant villages and there live the simple life of the villages minus their insanitation. They can become their own scavengers, as to an extent every prisoner must be.

Not Despondent

I would also share with the reader my correspondent's optimism in giving me his reflections upon the present condition of political India. He says:

> As regards "the things as I see them now", I am glad I do not feel as much disappointed as many of my friends do. I do not feel that non-co-operation has failed or that we have seen its last. I still believe that India will get swaraj in the near future and that the final victory is to be achieved through civil revolution. We may have to change our programme, but the salvation is to come through that source alone. I believe that the victory is to come to us in the near future. By near future, I do not mean one year, nor even five years, but certainly less than ten years, because, I find the heart of the people still sound. What is wrong is with those who have to give lead to the people. It is the educated classes to whom the common people generally look for guidance who have gone astray. If they could again realize their responsibilities, the masses would follow their footsteps as surely as the magnet follows the poles.

How nice it would be if all non-co-operators were to share this correspondent's faith in non-co-operation and civil disobedience! He who runs may see that though non-co-operation has not brought us swaraj in the tangible sense that the people understand, it has revolutionized our political aspect; has brought into being mass consciousness which in my opinion nothing else could have done. And there is no doubt about it that whenever freedom comes, it will come through some application of non-co-operation including civil disobedience. For, in spite of whatever may be said to the contrary, the method of violence has no following worth the name especially among the masses, and no method for the attainment of swaraj can possibly succeed unless the masses also adopt it. If the definition of swaraj includes the freedom not of a certain number of individuals or certain classes

but of the whole of the masses of India, only non-co-operation and all that it means can regulate that mass consciousness which is absolutely necessary for democratic swaraj. Only non-violent, and therefore constructive, methods will weld the masses together and fire them with a national purpose and give them the desire and ability to achieve and defend national freedom.

On Khaddar

The correspondent favours me with his views on khaddar also. He says:

> I attach great importance to charkha and khaddar, but sorry I do not feel very hopeful about them. And while I attach much importance to khaddar I do not attach as much importance to its political value as people generally used to do in 1921. I do not believe that English people rule India only in the interests of Lancashire. Other considerations play an equally important part. Your invitation to Lord Reading to use khaddar has still further reduced what little political value this item of the non-co-operation programme had before.

It is well that the correspondent grants the economic value of khaddar. I venture to suggest to him and to those who think with him that its political value springs from its economic value. A starving man thinks first of satisfying his hunger before anything else. The celebrated incident of a disciplined sage like Vishwamitra, whose austerities have hardly been matched, stooping even to steal forbidden food when he was famishing, shows the stress under which a starving man labours. He will sell his liberty and all for the sake of getting a morsel of food. Sailors struggling for want of food in mid-ocean have been known to resort to cannibalism in order to satisfy their hunger. Such is the position of millions of the people of India. For them liberty, God, and all such words are merely letters put together without the slightest meaning. They jar upon them. They will extend a welcome to any person who comes to them with a morsel of food. And if we want to give these people a sense of freedom we shall have to provide them with work which they can easily do in their desolate homes and which would give them at least the barest living. This can only be done by the spinning-wheel. And when they have become self-reliant and are able to support themselves, we are in a position to talk to them about freedom, about Congress, etc. Those therefore who bring them work and means of getting a crust of bread will be their deliverers and will be also the people who will make them hunger for liberty. Hence the political value of the spinning-wheel, apart from its further ability

to displace foreign cloth and thus remove the greatest temptation in the way of Englishmen to hold India even at the risk of having to repeat the Jallianwala massacre times without number.

And why should khaddar lose its political value because I invite Lord Reading to adopt it? Surely we have no quarrel with Englishmen as such. The method of non-co-operation is a method of conversion of Englishmen to thinking in terms of India. If they will respond to our dearest aspirations; if they will make common cause with us and wear khaddar; co-operate with us in making India dry and reducing the frightful military expenditure and are prepared to remain in India not on the strength of their bayonets but on that of our goodwill; will they not be welcome co-workers in a common cause? In my opinion the invitation to Englishmen to adopt khaddar and the spinning-wheel enhances their political value, while at the same time it robs them of the slightest trace of suspicion that there is in them any antagonism to Englishmen as such.

Young India, 18-3-1926

142. A DULL DIALOGUE

This is in continuation of "Buy Khadi with the Difference" in *Young India* of the 11th February. The heading has been chosen by C. Rajagopalachari. But the reader must judge for himself whether the dialogue is dull or interesting.[1]

Young India, 18-3-1926

143. DIFFERENCE IN DEGREE

The office-bearers of the Glasgow Indian Union have circulated a letter bringing to light the disabilities that have been imposed upon certain Indian residents in Glasgow. I take the following from the letter:

> The Home Secretary on 18th March, 1925, issued the order a copy of which is enclosed, directing the registration of "Alien Seamen". This order has been made applicable to Glasgow and District in January of this year and the Police authorities here acting under the instruc-

[1] With these introductory remarks was published a further very interesting dialogue on spinning and khadi work by C Rajagopalachari.

> tions of the Home Office have arbitrarily registered as Aliens the individuals whose names and addresses are given in the accompanying list. These individuals have all been in this country for periods of from three to fourteen years; they were born in India—majority in the Punjab—and are British subjects. Many of them were employed here during the War and are still employed as labourers, others as pedlars and in isolated cases as seamen. They have all been quite peaceful and law-abiding citizens. It is the intention of the Home Secretary to register these men as "Alien Seamen" which they certainly are not, and it is very significant that in the identity books that have been issued to them their nationality and birth-place are left blank. We, Indians, consider that this action of the Home Office is the culmination of a general policy of systematic exclusion of Indians which has developed in recent years. All Indians have on the ground of their nationality been refused admission to certain picture houses and some other places of entertainment in Glasgow, "the most liberal city in Scotland"—an eloquent evidence of the gratitude of the people of this country for signal services rendered by Indians during Britain's time of greatest affliction and crisis recorded in the annals of history.

Attached to the letter is the text of the order issued over the signature of the Home Secretary. It is called special restriction of "Coloured Alien Seamen" order. The order refers to 63 men. All of them are Mussalmans with the possible exception of one name which reads like a Hindu name. The majority of them are described as pedlars; only two are described as seamen. The districts to which they belong are Mirpur and Jullundur principally. All without exception belong to the Punjab. Why these men should be called coloured and not Asiatic, it is difficult to guess. It is still more difficult to say why they are considered as aliens when they are manifestly British subjects.

The treatment itself that this registration implies, it is not difficult to understand. It is the same thing as in South Africa. The only difference is in degree and I doubt not that if a much larger number of Indians settle in the British Isles there will be a panic which will be followed by legislation. Not very long ago one read in the papers that Chinese washermen were almost lynched in Liverpool. Things are no better in America. I printed only the other day on the subject a letter from an Indian student in that Continent. I had recently a visit from an America-returned student. He is a cultured man speaking faultless English, having subdued manners. He gave me a painful picture of American prejudice against colour and left on me the impression that it was on the increase. The question therefore that is agitating South

Africa is not a local one but it is a tremendous world problem. Whilst Asiatic races are held under subjection and are indifferent to their own welfare, it is easy enough to treat them as they are being treated, whether in England or in America or in Africa; for that matter in their own homes as in China and in India. But they will not long remain asleep. One can but hope therefore that their awakening may not lead to making confusion worse confounded and adding to the racial bitterness already existing. There is however no hope of avoiding the catastrophe unless the spirit of exploitation that at present dominates the nations of the West is transmuted into that of real helpful service, or unless the Asiatic and the African races understand that they cannot be exploited without their co-operation, to a large extent voluntary, and thus understanding, withdraw such co-operation. Take the present instance itself. These brave Punjabis need not put up with the insult of submission to the racial discrimination which is sought to be imposed upon them. They need not stay where they are unwelcome visitors, or if they must stay, they need not submit to humiliating treatment and they should suffer the consequence of disobedience in the shape of imprisonment. It is often found that those against whom discrimination is made are in some measure, be it ever so slight, responsible for it. If such is the case with the Punjabis, they should remove every such excuse so that their cause may be found to be above reproach. If man, no matter what pigment he wears, will realize his status, he will discover that it is possible for him to stand erect even before a whole world in opposition.

In passing I would like to draw the attention of the framers of the general letter from which I have quoted, that whilst it is brief and otherwise admirable, it jars by reason of the emphasis laid by the writers upon "signal services rendered by Indians during Britain's time of greatest affliction and crisis recorded in the annals of history".

If India rendered willing service at the time of the War, its value is diminished by demanding gratitude, for it was rendered as a duty and "duty will be merit when debt becomes a donation." The fact however is that the service was not willingly rendered. Force or the threat of it was a potent consideration that prompted it. It is the prudential restraint of Englishmen that they do not every time, on mention of these services, retort that we rendered them as *begar*[1] even as when officials on tour in the Indian villages impress labour. The people who were forced out of their

[1] Forced labour

homes in the Punjab to serve at the time of the War have little cause to be proud of their service, still less to evoke the gratitude of the British Government. The gratitude went to Sir Michael O'Dwyer who demanded and got his quota of recruits, cost what it might, from every district of the Punjab.

Young India, 18-3-1926

144. LETTER TO DR. JOACHIM HENRY REINHOLD

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 18, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It pleases me to find that you have benefited by my writings. You are at liberty to translate any of the writings of *Young India*. There are German and French translations to be had in Europe and there is also an English edition published by Messrs S. Ganesan, Pycrofts Road, Triplicane, Madras.

Yours sincerely,

PROF. DR. JOACHIM HENRY REINHOLD
PROF. AT THE FREE UNIVERSITY LEAGUE
WARSAW, POLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 12446

145. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 18, 1926

MY DEAR C. R.,

Here is the correspondence between Kelappan and myself. I know all your difficulties. You will please tell me whatever burden you cannot shoulder. Your central work is to develop the Ashram you have established, everything else is subsidiary. If, therefore, such responsibility as coming to a decision on matters I may refer to you and supervising such institutions that may be established as a result of the advice you may give are beyond your strength, you will not hesitate to say so, but if you can handle these things without disturbing the central work I would like you

to do, advise me about Kelappan as to this letter and the previous one.

Similarly I want you to advise me regarding the undisposed of South India Flood Relief Fund. Mathuradas has a respectable sum in his hands and so have I. What do you want done? We must come to a quick decision. The different funds can be amalgamated and a trust created for the development of spinning and khaddar in the areas that were affected by flood. Other areas that are subjected to periodical famine and floods may also be included in the trust. But you may have some other suggestions to make.

Here is a letter from Kumar also. I have not replied to him and I do not want to before you tell me whether you can shoulder these burdens or not.

Yours,

Encls. 3

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
GANDHI ASHRAM
TIRUCHENGODU

From a photostat: S.N. 19366

146. LETTER TO KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA

ASHRAM,
March 18, 1926

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I have both your letters. I wanted to write to you when I got the second. I have been worried since you wrote to me about the *pinjrapole*. It is my constant desire that you should reach Deolali soon.

I had promptly gone through the article which you had left for me regarding the question of monkeys. In the article, as in your letter, you have offered no final solution of the problem. What we want now is a solution which is perfectly consistent with religion. Of course it will be implemented in course of time. How can we get over age-old sentiments unless we have very grave reasons? But we face now only the religious aspect of the problem. Let us not forget we have been ourselves promoting the multiplication of monkeys and now we are a passive witness to their destruction; (1) Englishmen and others destroying the monkeys that visit their neighbourhood, and (2) the export to foreign coun-

tries of live specimens for experiments while yet alive. And the third inconsistency is that we feel a secret joy at the fall in their number due to these two causes. What can we do in such circumstances? If we can free ourselves from the sin of destroying a few monkeys, it is perhaps our duty to do so; or as members of society, it may be our duty to remain passive witnesses to it. What is one's obligation towards the society of which one is a member? Solution of the monkey problem will cover that of the pigeons. I have no doubt we are deliberately promoting the breeding of pigeons. The *pinjrapole* is a modern institution. I do not think it functions with enlightened compassion. It is like swallowing a camel and straining at a gnat. At the moment I am examining non-violence as a principle, and I have come to believe that, in the case of monkeys and the like, our attitude is governed solely by tradition; we pay no attention it seems, to their well-being. There is another question arising out of non-violence. In the event of violence to one's person, where may a non-violent aspirant draw the line?

I write all this for you to think over at leisure. I am in no hurry to have your answers. First think over them yourself, then discuss them with Nath[1] and let me know what conclusions you reach after these deliberations.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19871

147. LETTER TO MAUD CHEESMAN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 19, 1926

MY DEAR MAUD,

Your 2nd letter is before me. How nice! The choice before me is either to dictate or if I want to write myself to postpone writing indefinitely. I am therefore dictating. My right hand requires rest. I can write with the left but it takes time.

Your letter reminds me of the long and delightful walks we three used to have in London in those old days. Please tell Mitter I do often think of her and the treats she used to give me under her roof at the time whose memories I have just recalled.

[1] Kedarnath Kulkarni

I expect your next letter to tell me that you are quite yourself again and entirely restored.

If I said nothing in my letter about Mrs. Gandhi it meant naturally that she was with me quite well and helping me. There is no danger of judicial or other separation between us if only because it is not permissible according to my code of ethics let alone Hinduism. Ramdas is helping me in the spinning-wheel work. None of the boys except Harilal is married. Ramdas was betrothed the other day. He may get married next year. So far as he knows his mind at the present moment he does not want to be for two years.

Please tell Henry that if he has his copy of his coalition of different texts of the English translation of the *Bhagavad Gita*, I would like him to send it to me by registered post. Somehow or other I have mislaid the copy that he gave me. I badly want therefore his copy. I shall get it copied and return it.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. MAUD CHEESMAN
15 C, THORNEY HEDGE ROAD
GUNNERSBURY
LONDON, W. 4

From a photostat: S.N. 12447

148. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

ASHRAM,
March 19, 1926

BHAI RAMESHWARJI,

Your letter. You need not be sorry. Having done your duty to the best of your ability, no more is necessary. I have no faith in visiting Dwarka and other places, but it does not follow that none else may have such faith. There is nothing wrong in visiting such places of pilgrimage with a clear conscience. So I suggested that you should take your wife and others to Dwarkaji. The final place of pilgrimage is of course one's own pure heart. Recitation of *Ramanama* is the only remedy for your mental agony.

Whom may we regard as untouchables? It is very sinful to regard anyone as untouchable by birth. He who has faith in his heart and is pure in body—what is the harm in his entering a

temple? You should clear yourself of the blemish of untouchability. It is not proper for you to uphold untouchability.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

ADDRESS: DHULIA

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19872

149. LETTER TO UMRAOSINGH

ASHRAM,
March 19, 1926

BHAI UMRAOSINGHJI,

Your letter. I have no money to offer you, and what you are interested in is not in my field.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19875

150. LETTER TO PUNJA SHRAVAN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 19, 1926

BHAISHRI PUNJA SHRAVAN,

I have your letter. How can I convince you I have no prejudice against Shivji? Nor do I regard myself as prejudiced. I am eager to know my mistake, admit it and make necessary amends, but then you or someone else for that matter should point it out to me. Bhai Shivji is himself responsible for whatever opinion I have formed. When I made inquiries about him that was out of my love for him and with his consent too. I admit I had no right to do so if he would not agree to it. Nor did the proposal for arbitration come from me. I had offered to talk to any person of Shivji's choice who could convince me about his innocence in some way. If ultimately an arbitration comes about that will be at Shivji's instance. If it is delayed, that again is due to him, or say due to Bhai Mavji. When the arbitration starts I shall certainly hand over your letter to them. I shall not withhold anything from the arbitrators. This I promise. I admire your

devotion to Shivji, and I can also appreciate your feelings. Believe me I am pained at your grief. But can I possibly force out of my mind something of which I am deeply convinced?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19873

151. LETTER TO GIRDHARLAL

ASHRAM,
March 19, 1926

BHAI GIRDHARLAL,

I have your letter. One consolation is that there are at this very moment quite a few people in the world who are similarly situated.

(1) It is our environment rather than yourself that is to blame for your inability to put your spare time to good use. You must not resign yourself to it thinking it God's will. On the contrary, you should cultivate the strength to stand against the environment.

(2) I do not see anything wrong in your being happy with *Ramanama* instead of abandoning yourself to futile laments whenever you are helpless.

(3) There is nothing to regret if you cannot earn money. But if you fail to uphold your dharma that is a matter of regret; whether or not it is upheld is for you to decide.

(4) It is a serious blunder to believe that nocturnal discharge is more harmful than intercourse. Both cause debility and often the latter causes more. But we fail to see the harm in intercourse by reason of conventional approval, and since a night discharge upsets the mind we tend to magnify the harm. I suppose you know that in spite of having sexual intercourse one may suffer from nocturnal discharge. Therefore if you admit the merit of *brahmacharya* and intend to practise it, stick to it without grieving over discharges which occur in spite of your continued efforts to the contrary. After you have practised *brahmacharya* for some time you will gain control over your mind. How long it will take, one cannot say, because everyone does not take the same time; one takes more or less time according to one's capacity. Some never obtain control over their thoughts; yet they get the cer-

tain fruit of *brahmacharya* observed in practice, so that they come to possess a physique which can check the mind with ease.

(5) In my opinion husband and wife do not have to obtain each other's consent for practising *brahmacharya.* It is desirable if both co-operate with each other to attain it, it is quite proper also to seek such co-operation. But whether or not one gets the other's consent, one who desires it should practise it and benefit from it. Mutual consent is essential for intercourse, but no consent is necessary for abstention. A man who has intercourse with his wife without her consent is guilty of rape. He violates the law of God as well as man.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19874

152. LETTER TO PARASRAM MEHROTRA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday [March 20, 1926][1]

BHAI PARASRAM,

Your letter. Never mind if the post at the Vidyapith has been filled up. Even if you are late the other post will not be filled up. You can come even after finishing the work there. It is good that you are practising typewriting.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI PARASRAM
'STREEDARPAN' KARYALAYA
CAWNPORE (U. P.)

From the Hindi original: C.W. 4961. Courtesy: Parasram Mehrotra

[1] From the postmark

153. LETTER TO NALINI R. SARKAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 20, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Better late than never. Your welcome letter with details has just been received. Dr. Bidhan anticipated you and sent me a brief note. You have filled in the details. I sent my message[1] in reply to Dr. Bidhan's letter. I need not therefore repeat it.

I hope that the institution[2] will grow from day to day. Is there now any difficulty about operating upon the funds in the hands of Sir Rajendra Nath?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. NALINI R. SARKAR
6-A, CORPORATION STREET
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 10702

154. LETTER TO LAJPAT RAI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 20, 1926

DEAR LALAJI,

I have your letter. You did not acknowledge receipt of my letter in reply to yours which I hope you duly received. I have been anxious for an acknowledgment in order to make myself sure that I had committed no breach of confidence in showing your letter to Motilalji.

Somehow or other my mental framework will not accommodate an European visit for the mere purpose of giving me rest. I can think of many such places in and about India. Ceylon or Burma for instance, if not Kashmir, as a matter of fact nothing will delight me more than to go to Kashmir or some inaccessible hill in the Himalayas. If, therefore, I go to Finland, it would have to be some substantial inducement. Coming in close touch with

[1] *Vide* "Letter to B. C. Roy", 17-3-1926.
[2] Chittaranjan Seva Sadan

the world's students is undoubtedly attractive. Hence, it was that instead of final refusal as in the case of America, I gave an indecisive answer about the Finland invitation. Since then it has not materialized any further. If the invitation is repeated, I shall deal with it on merits. But I assure you that there is no need for the change and rest as in your case. What shall I do if friends will exaggerate?

If, however, I do go to Finland, I would certainly be delighted to have you as guide, friend and philosopher. For, I know nothing of Europe except London and a few sea-side places in England and Paris, whereas you have wandered all the world over.

When are you supposed to leave?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

LALA LAJPAT RAI
12, COURT STREET
LAHORE

From a photostat: S.N. 11339

155. LETTER TO C. RAMALINGA REDDY

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 20, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I had hoped in replying to your letter to be able to send you a handwritten note but it was not to be. Day after day I have postponed dictating my reply to find time for writing but the right hand being in need of rest and left-hand writing somewhat tedious especially when you are hard pressed for time, in order not to delay acknowledging your letter any longer, I am resorting to dictation.

I sympathize with you in your difficulty, but at the present moment who can resist the pressing storm? All therefore one can hope is that in the new situation no Non-co-operators may find themselves [*sic*]. They will acquit themselves with credit to the country. It will be something if you are able to retain khaddar and pervade the atmosphere around you with the mentality for which khaddar stands.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. RAMALINGA REDDY
CHITTOOR

From a microfilm: S.N. 19367

156. A LETTER

March 20, 1926

I have your letter. You say you like khaddar for a blouse; will you not now take to khadi saris also. How can a patriotic person come to have a taste for foreign cloth? If we love our country we should have a liking for indigenous goods. One who dislikes cloth woven by the poor Indian from his homespun yarn, how can such a one be regarded a true child of this land? I expect to hear from you next that you have given up foreign cloth and have taken to hand-spun khaddar.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19876

157. LETTER TO DHANJI

March 20, 1926

BHAISHRI DHANJI,

I have your letter which I read to *Gangaswarup*[1] Gangabehn and Bhaishri Lakshmidas. What I wrote about Behn Moti had been shown to Bhai Lakshmidas before it was published.[2] Both of them tell me that the practice of giving away a daughter for some consideration is not unknown in the Bhatia community. But this does not mean that every Bhatia family gives away their daughters only for a consideration. If receiving a consideration is a general practice I do not think I am guilty of exaggeration. You might be aware that, since girls are not easily available, many Bhatias get them from Hardwar. There too a payment has to be made. Recently I came across an instance of a respectable family getting a girl from Hardwar. She had to be paid for. This is a family with some education. We have grown rather intolerant of criticism, i.e., whether of persons or of our community. We should change our attitude and be glad if someone were to point out our shortcomings, whether in good faith or otherwise. Since my return home I have of course been in the company of Bhatias, all of whom informed me about the sale of brides and other practices. But if you still think that I am making some mistake, do write to me

[1] An honorific prefixed to the name of a widow

[2] *Vide* "With Bare Religious Rites", 7-3-1926.

again. I do not at all like to find fault with an individual or a community, whether native or foreign, nor to discuss and much less to dwell upon such faults. I am eager to adore virtue. But it is not proper to shut our eyes or ears to failings which are manifest and resounding. Therefore I speak about them whenever necessary with all possible restraint.

A wedding is no doubt an auspicious occasion but music, fun and the like, far from enhancing, reduce its sanctity. Auspicious means blissful. An auspicious occasion brings bliss only if we realize its religious significance and act upon it. Tulsidasji has not described weddings with a view to setting models for imitation. His object is not to describe marriages but to propound *moksha*. While doing this through poetry he has incidentally described popular practices. I am a worshipper of the *Ramayana*, i.e., not of its letter but of its spirit. Tulsidasji writes about many other things which we have ceased to observe, in fact we cannot. He describes only contemporary customs and manners. But our worldly experience now is much wider than Tulsidasji's. And we can become true devotees of Tulsidas only when we assimilate his religious approach and with the advantage of our new experience, we introduce such changes in our social life as our times demand. Tulsidas, for instance, says that woman only deserves spanking. Now, do we believe this today? Marriage is intended to help us cultivate restraint and therefore, we should recall this implication of marriage from time to time. We omit to do this and so adultery, indulgence and the like are now on the increase. Marriage is thus reduced to mere gratification of animal desires. Thinking deeply over all this, we ought to get out of this state of things.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19877

158. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

Saturday, Chaitra Sud [7][1], March 20, 1926

BHAISHRI KAKA,

You wrote a letter, and then tried to withdraw it, but in vain. You have succeeded with your letter as much as Swami did in trying to stop you. You have been paid in your own coin. I found your interpretation rather far-fetched. When the seers proclaimed milk to be sacred and recommended it in place of meat they had in mind the beef-eating Hindus. They did not mean it for vegetarians. All these things are pure only in comparison with the other impure food. I take goat's milk not because I regard it as sacred, on the contrary I do regard it as impure; and whenever I take it I do so with conscious aversion, and yet I am ever afraid if I am not yielding somewhat to temptation. I have absolutely no doubt that milk cannot be our food whether we look at it from the point of view of dharma, or human anatomy or even biochemistry. And if I could resist the temptation to utilize some of my faculties, you will never see me taking goat's milk. I have no doubt man's ideal food is the ripe fruit of the forest cooked by Nature. But I have neither adequate knowledge of chemistry, nor as much self-control as I would have, nor the desired patience. I cannot be hypocritical and therefore support myself with goat's milk. However, like fasting, giving up of milk is also a possible aspect of my life. And once I develop absolute detachment to life no one can possibly stop me. If I could be stopped my detachment would not be absolute.

But when I give up even goat's milk, I would just the same uphold the sanctity of milk for the people. Since I recommend to the public buttons made from the bones of deceased cattle, will you ask me, who do not use buttons, to use them? When I ask mechanics to use the fat from non-butchered cattle for their machines, I hope you will not ask me to store one or two maunds of fat in the Ashram? Of course we all would appreciate the purity of the fat from deceased cattle in preference to that of the butchered ones.

If I were to feel that I cannot fully uphold the vow of non-

[1] The source has 6 which however was neither a Saturday nor the 20th of March 1926.

violence by giving up cow's milk I would rather give up the vow because it would no more deserve that status.

If you still find any defect in this do write to me. If you think it is my delusion to give up cow's and buffalo's milk you ought to try and save me from it.

Today it has been decided that I should go to Mussoorie. Whether or not you come there, everything will be ready for you there, just the same.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19878

159. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS[1]

[*March 20, 1926*][2]

TO PRABHUDAS

What you write about my vow regarding a watch is embarrassing not because of the vow but because the mind is not yet trained in *aparigraha*[3]. But I know no other way of training the mind against possessiveness. If a person having any number of watches is indifferent over one of them, that certainly is no great merit in him. His indifference might be at the cost of some other person. If one is not worried about one's watch in spite of such a vow, and in spite of knowing that another cannot be had if this is lost, one has at least a remote chance of attaining *aparigraha*. Again, if a person who has a one-thing vow begins to feel jealous, that is no new failing in him; what was dormant, revives by contact. This then is the virtue of vows. When the mind is cleaned of one thing all the other filth also comes out. And if we succeed with one vow, there is a chance of all other uncleanliness being flushed out. He who has not taken a vow sincerely has taken no vow at all. He is a hypocrite. And we cannot judge the sincere by the standards of the hypocrite.

* * * *[4]

Ayodhyakanda[5] is such that one is not tired of it after reading it a thousand times. The more you work on it, the more you will be rewarded.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19878-A

1 This is added like a postscript to S.N. 19878, the preceding item.
2 Same as of S.N. 19878
3 Non-possession
4 Asterisks as in the source
5 The second book of the *Ramayana*

160. AN ANGUISHED CHARKHA DEVOTEE

The following letter in reply to the article "Distrust, or Legitimate Precaution?"[1] demonstrates how hard it is to follow dharma:[2]

I have already accepted the contention that it would be best not to return the yarn once deposited with the Spinners' Association, and it is desirable that no one should ask his yarn to be returned. But human nature is not cast in one pattern. And so it becomes necessary to make some concessions so long as they do not violate the principle and that is what has happened in this case.

The *Rentia-Premi's*[3] views on the Spinners' Association were not ignored by me. My only intention was to draw attention to the difficulties arising from what a simple reading of his article seemed to suggest. The Spinners' Association is, and is also not, an institution dedicated to a practical purpose. All may not accept it as a door leading to *moksha*; in fact, very few persons look upon it in that light. Most people accept khadi on economic grounds and join the Spinners' Association because they think that it can render good help in promoting the cause of khadi. It is the duty of the organizers to take proper precautions in regard to such members. The rules for general application should be judged not from the point of view of people who maintain the highest standard but from that of ordinary men and women. My remarks about "temptation" were intended to suggest that everyone should feel inspired to join institutions devoted wholly to public service. The two suggestions made by the *Rentia-Premi* for making the Spinners' Association a success are certainly very good. If all spin with the same diligence as he does and exert themselves to make it 100 per cent successful, the cause of khadi will make great strides. Likewise, it is also beyond doubt that if the Spinners' Association exercises the same care in rating, collecting and

[1] Dated 14-3-1926

[2] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent was not convinced by Gandhiji's arguments in the article and had stated that the undesirable practices against which the Spinners' Association was obliged to take precautions were the consequences of spinning having been made a part of politics through the franchise clause of the Congress.

[3] A lover of the spinning-wheel

storing yarn which a jeweller does in rating and storing a diamond received by him, the khadi movement will make great progress.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 21-3-1926

161. ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I have received from Shri Vasanji Jetsi Shah a gold ring with a diamond chain, on behalf of his mother Shrimati Jethibai, and from Shri Valji Kunvarji Shah a hooded ring with two tiny diamonds, to be used for any national work I may choose. I propose to utilize them in propagating khadi.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 21-3-1926

162. BENGAL'S DISTINCTION

Bengal is demonstrating her superiority over other provinces in the field of khadi as she has been doing in many other fields. Other provinces manufacture quite a good quantity of khadi; for the sale of their products, however, they depend not on themselves but mostly on demands from outside. Bengal, on the other hand, has from the very beginning preferred to follow the path of self-reliance. We see this practice not in one but in all khadi institutions. Bengal has not sent out a single yard of khadi for sale.

This example of Bengal deserves to be pondered over by institutions in other provinces. There is no province as yet which produces enough khadi for its needs and, after it is sold, has still some surplus which it sends to other provinces. Before we reach that stage, we shall have to manufacture khadi worth crores of rupees annually. Since we wish to make the use of khadi universal, our aim should be to see that as a rule all the khadi produced is consumed locally. The efforts we make in this direction will hasten the universal adoption of khadi. An exception can be made to this rule only in favour of those provinces in which it is difficult to produce khadi, but there will be hardly any such province. The chief khadi producing regions are Tamil Nad, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab and Bihar. The bodies [connected with the manufacture of khadi] in these provinces depend very much on what they are able to send to other provinces. It is necessary to

increase the local demands in all these regions. Other provinces which may find it necessary to obtain khadi from these centres will have no difficulty in getting their requirements, but efforts by provincial bodies to increase the local sale of khadi will result in a great increase in the production of khadi and in considerable saving in costs.

Bengal is showing us the way. First, the Khadi Pratishthan took a bold step and had a fairly large quantity of khadi produced. It is now carrying on propaganda work, with the help of magic lanterns and other aids, to sell all that khadi. It also intends to try to raise the necessary funds for this purpose from within Bengal. Actually, the Pratishthan started its work with money obtained from local sources. If workers keep these three principles in view —local manufacture, local consumption and local help—in carrying on khadi work, khadi will spread rapidly and the costs will be kept down. In this, really, consists the value of khadi, its deeper significance. The basis of the movement is the belief that khadi meets the needs of the people. We should prove the truth of this at every step. If, in addition, we also obtain monetary help locally, the hundreds of thousands of one-anna coins received as contribution will add up to many lakhs of rupees. A crore of rupees donated by one person will not probably benefit the movement as much as contributions received in this manner.

It will take time to reach this ideal and there will also be difficulties in the way; if we lose sight of the ideal, however, the khadi movement will fail in its original purpose. In order that it should become a pure source of help for the poor, it is necessary to pay increasing attention to the three principles mentioned above. Till the time that we can follow them, we shall have to adopt other measures, accept help from outside sources and the provinces will have to seek and give mutual co-operation. If, however, the khadi workers forget to keep their eyes fixed on our light-house, they will meet the fate of careless sailors. The example of Bengal reminds us of this lesson.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 21-3-1926

163. SOCIAL REFORM

Shri Jamnalalji's speech as President of the Agrawal Mahasabha deserves to be read and pondered over. He has displayed the greatest freedom and courage in it. If the Marwari community can follow Shri Jamnalalji's advice, it will lead in effecting essential social reforms as it leads in acquiring wealth. The reforms advocated by Shri Jamnalalji are equally necessary for the other castes among Hindus all over the country. Abuse of the pure weapon of boycott, dishonest and anti-national commercial practices, love of pleasure among the rich, adoption of western ways by women, child-marriages, heavy burden of marriage-expenses, proliferation of sub-castes, neglect of children's education, these and other evils prevail in some measure among Hindus everywhere. They not only sap our vitality, but obstruct our progress towards swaraj. In his speech, Jamnalalji laid the fullest stress on the eradication of these evils as also on the removal of untouchability, on khadi and on improving the methods we adopt for protecting the cow. Let us all hope that the Agrawal members present at the meeting will act on Jamnalalji's suggestions and facilitate the task of other Hindu communities.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 21-3-1926

164. KHADI IN GUJARAT MONTH BY MONTH

The Gujarat Khadi Pracharak Mandal has issued a report on the production, sale, etc., of khadi for the month of *Magha*[1], from which we can form some idea of the progress of khadi in this province.[2]

This report is a summary of the figures received from 19 institutions. It does not include the figures of the four institutions affiliated to the Mandal, nor of those in Kathiawar. The figures reproduced above do not, therefore, give a complete idea of the total progress in Gujarat, but even as they are, they indicate some progress. It may seem negligible today. If, however, the progress is maintained, it is plain that khadi cannot but spread widely.

[1] Month in the Hindu Calendar roughly corresponding to February
[2] The figures are not reproduced here.

Besides these figures, the Mandal has also published figures relating to the sale of spinning-wheels and accessories. I reproduce some of them:[1]

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 21-3-1926

165. LETTER TO MRS. HANUMANTHARAO

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 21, 1926

DEAR DAUGHTER,

You are as daughter to me as Hanumantharao was like son to me. In one of his letters he describes you as an exceptionally brave woman. I expect you to show that bravery at this time of the greatest sorrow that can befall a good wife. But if you feel with me that Hanumantharao though dead yet lives, you will turn that sorrow into joy by shouldering your husband's burdens and making him live through you. The consecration of widowhood in Hinduism means a living faith in the persistence of life after death.

If you can come to the Ashram and make it your home I shall rejoice. If you can make yourself comfortable here do not treat this as a mere courteous offer which cannot be accepted. On the contrary, I would treasure your presence if you could at all make up your mind to come. And it will give me joy to think that though we cannot have Hanumantharao any longer in body, we have his partner with us to represent him. I shall be glad to hear that you have not yielded to the barbarous exhibition of grief that is in vogue amongst us in flat contradiction to the dictates of religion.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. HANUMANTHARAO

From a microfilm: S.N. 19370

[1] The figures are not reproduced here.

166. LETTER TO D. V. RAMASWAMI[1]

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 21, 1926

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Make me partner in your overwhelming sorrow. I know what Hanumantharao meant to you. He wrote to me only not very long ago a letter merely regarding a meeting between you and a missionary friend and he described in that letter the great affection that subsisted between you two. I hope that you will not give way to grief but console his wife.

I do not know your whereabouts. I am therefore sending this letter to you through Krishna. You will read the letter to his wife and if she is at all willing to come to the Ashram, you will not hesitate to send her. God be with you.

Yours sincerely,

BROTHER OF
LATE HANUMANTHARAO

From a microfilm: S.N. 19368

167. LETTER TO C. V. KRISHNA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 21, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNA,

I have your heart-rending telegram. It is difficult to believe it. I can understand your grief. Regard me as your equal pratner in it. I expect full details of the tragedy from you and other friends. For Hanumantharao himself he had died well and we can only rejoice his constancy to his own ideal was indeed very great and he has sealed it with his death. May we all have the same loyalty to our own ideals. You must not become a slave to grief but you should transmute it into purest gold of redoubled energy and capacity to work in defiance of trials and difficulties. You must let me know all your dispositions.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to D. V. Ramaswami", 3-4-1926.

Please see that the enclosed reaches its destination. One is for his wife and the other for his brother.

Yours sincerely,

Encls. 2

SJT. KRISHNA
NELLORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 19369

168. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, Chaitra Sud 8 [March 21, 1926]

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have your long awaited letter. You will be sorry to hear that Hanumantharao died yesterday at Vizagapattanam. His was, I think, a most noble death; he kept up his honour. But we feel the loss when we remember his qualities. Only about ten days back I had a long letter from him in which he gently rebuked me for having quinine, arsenic and iron injections.[1]

Kantilal has been sent to Amreli because of an insistent demand for him. So I expect Ramdas to come here now. I hope you meet Kishorelal quite often. Ask him if he got my letter addressed to Nasik. I hope Taramati and Dilip are doing well.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19371

169. LETTER TO RAMA NARAYAN SINGH

ASHRAM,
March 21, 1926

BHAISHRI RAMNARAYANSINGH,

I have your letter; also the appeal. You say no work is being done in your district; the staff think they alone know everything but behave in a childish manner. What is the good of putting up a building when things stand thus? And how can I agree to it? A building by itself is no cure for childishness nor can it inspire a spirit of service. A building should come up only where the number of workers is increasing and they abide by the rules, inspire

[1] *Vide* "Letter to D. Hanumantharao", 11-3-1926.

public confidence, enjoy mutual respect, and live in unity. I would certainly advise you not even to think of a building, until a good number of sincere workers come together.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19879

170. LETTER TO CHUNILAL RANGWALA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, Chaitra Sud 8 [*March 21, 1926*]

BHAISHRI CHUNILAL,

Your letter. You cannot be held responsible when your niece is not wholly under your control. Hence it is enough to have made known your opposition and to have absented yourself from the wedding and other ceremonies.

The wedding ceremony performed at the Ashram certainly included other religious rites conducted by well-known priests from the respective provinces. But the other fanfare was omitted, and I do believe that all that is not necessary. The vow contained in the *saptapadi* ritual deserves to be known; so that was published.[1] I do not consider it essential to go through the ritual of *vastu*[2]. I have no hopes that all people will give away all their belongings, none-the-less I do hold that those who do so are not wrong.

Your intention is laudable in suggesting that we should have a bigger size for *Navajivan* so that it can carry more matter and that the subscription should be raised if found necessary. But the suggestion cannot be implemented. I shall see if I can give more matter in each instalment of the autobiography.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 10850

[1] *Vide* "With Bare Religious Rites", 7-3-1926.
[2] Ceremony invoking the protection of gods for a newly-constructed building

171. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN CHOKSI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, Chaitra Sud 8 [*March 21, 1926*][1]

CHI. MOTI,

I have your letter. I understand what you say, but you should note my protest just the same. Children who love their elders maintain progress because they always strive to live up to their elders' expectations. It is one of the easiest things to delineate each letter with care. I might have had one or two letters in tolerable handwriting. And why can you not think of something to write about? Do you have to look around for a subject when you want to write? So many things happen within twenty-four hours, about which you can write; also the many thoughts that pass through your mind. One can also mention the comings and goings of people. But if it is troublesome to write daily, you may write once a week, but on condition that the handwriting is nice and the details are covered. I only wanted to say that whatever your vow you should observe it with all your mind and heart; only then can it really be kept.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Henceforth I shall write also to Bhai Najuklal.[2]

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12120

172. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, Chaitra Sud 8 [*March 21, 1926*][3]

CHI. MATHURADAS,

A letter from you after many days, which I was waiting for all the time. All my time is now taken up, so I have little to write, which has made me lax. But I get a little anxious if I do not have

[1] The year is determined by the reference to the addressee's vow to write to Gandhiji apparently after she left the Ashram to live with her husband.

[2] The postscript is in Gandhiji's hand.

[3] From the reference to the proposed stay in Mussoorie

any letter either from you or from Devdas. It is now clear that your health will improve only gradually. You should take rest there and not worry. It has been decided that I go to Mussoorie in April. There will be room for a few people there. Won't you come over if you are permitted? That might be better. Boarding facilities will, of course, be there.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19372

173. SPEECH ON MUSIC, AHMEDABAD[1]

[*March 21, 1926*][2]

There is a famous classical saying which has now become a proverb that the man "that hath no music in himself" is either an ascetic or a beast. We are far from being ascetics, and to the extent that we are devoid of music we are near allied to beasts. To know music is to transfer it to life. The prevalent discord of today is an indication of our sad plight. There can be no swaraj where there is no harmony, no music.

Where there is discord and everyone striking his own tune, there is bad government or anarchy. Work for swaraj fails to appeal to us because we have no music in us. When we have millions of people singing together in harmony or taking God's name in unison, making one music, we shall have taken the first step to swaraj. If we cannot achieve this simple thing, how can we win swaraj?

We have free music classes in Ahmedabad for the last three years conducted by one who is an expert. And yet we have to be satisfied today with a roll-attendance of 10 and a regular attendance of four. It is poor consolation indeed; but we live in hope and Dr. Hariprasad, who sees a ray of hope when he finds even one *pol* out of the hundreds in Ahmedabad clean and tidy, might well feel satisfied that we have at least four regular music lovers.

Where there is filth and squalour and misery there can be no music. It implies an atmosphere quite the contrary. If we put a broad interpretation on music, i.e., if we mean by it union,

[1] This is Mahadev Desai's translation of Gandhiji's speech at the Second Annual Function of the National Music Association, Ahmedabad. It appeared in *Young India* under the caption "Music in Life".

[2] According to the Bombay Secret Abstracts, the function was held at the Ashram on this date.

concord, mutual help, it may be said that in no department of life can we dispense with it.

Music today has been regarded to mean the vocal effort of a singing girl. We fight shy of sending our sisters and daughters to music schools. There seems to be a superstition that their voice is best when it is devoid of sweetness. That explains why Dr. Hariprasad has had to express satisfaction with an attendance of ten students.

Music, truly speaking, is an ancient and sacred art. The hymns of *Samaveda* are a mine of music, and no *ayat* of the Koran can be recited unmusically. David's Psalms transport you to raptures and remind you of the hymns from *Samaveda.* Let us revive this art and patronize the school of music.

We see Hindu and Mussalman musicians sitting cheek by jowl and partaking in musical concerts. When shall we see the same fraternal union in other affairs of our life? We shall then have the name of Rama and Rahman simultaneously on our lips.

I am glad some of you here are patronizing music. If many more send their children to the music class it will be part of their contribution to national uplift.

But to go a step further. If we would see music in millions of our poor homes, we should all wear khadi and spin. The music we have had today was sweet indeed but it is a privilege of the favoured few. The music of the spinning-wheel can be a free gift to all and is therefore sweeter. It is the hope and solace and mainstay of the millions, and for me therefore the truly good music.

We shall consider music in a narrow sense to mean the ability to sing and play an instrument well while carrying a tune and marking the correct beats of time but, in its wider sense, that is to say that true music is created only when life is attuned to a single tune and a single time-beat. Music is born only where the strings of the heart are not out of tune. The experiment with music will be regarded as a successful one when the crores of people in the entire country will start speaking with the same voice. In my opinion true music is implicit in khadi and the spinning-wheel. So long as that has not been made explicit, the country is going to welcome anarchy or misrule and, it will continue to be in a state of bondage.[1]

Young India, 15-4-1926

[1] This paragraph is from *Gujarati*, 28-3-1926.

174. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

ASHRAM,
Monday, March 22, 1926

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I had the telegram from Ghanshyamdas and you, and I have sent a reply to Ghanshyamdas. Shankarlal is the cause of it all. He is not very discreet. But let us say no more of it. You will find me ready when you are; but after the 31st.

Bhai Pyar Ali and Noorbano desire to spend the summer wherever I do. It will do if they can have a separate cottage or even a couple of rooms. They propose to live on their own. So you may now do whatever you think proper.

I am in quite good health. Here it is not exactly summer as yet; only today it may be said to be somewhat warm.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19880

175. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Chaitra Sud 10 [March 23, 1926][1]

BHAI KAKA,

You must have had my letter. I have today two letters from you. I have already written to you that you should come to Mussoorie. But if we must suffer separation, we shall endure it. I mean to say that, if you find Sinhagarh very congenial and the peaceful atmosphere there very agreeable, you need not leave all that for the uncertainty [of Mussoorie] just to be with me. I cannot go where you are, because there is no room for me there, as you say. Wherever I go, I have to accommodate Pyar Ali and Noorbano. Like you, Gomatibehn also has been sent out, so there is one more condition, viz., to accommodate her. It is another thing if she does not come also. And now Mathuradas is the fourth person whom I must accommodate. His doctor has advised Mathuradas to leave Deolali. Therefore he will either go there or to Mussoorie. Even

[1] The year is inferred from the proposal to go to Mussoorie.

if you leave the place, the bungalow can still be used since we are a large family. It is true that we would not have had to bother about its use if we had not rented it. Moreover, all arrangements about Mussoorie are finalized, telegrams have been despatched. It is not right to change that now. I know quite well that there will be no peace for me there. There may not be much difference between Panchgani and Mussoorie. Hindi makes a second difference regarding Panchgani. But you must know that I do not go there just for a change of climate, but to perform some duty. I tried hard not to go there. At the moment I have peace here. I have become intimately mixed up with the activities here, in which I am interested. *Bhaktaraj*[1] and the *Gita* have taken hold of me and they constitute the twin motive force for me. Moreover, it suits me that while at the Ashram I can do something without exerting myself. And I see that Ba too is quite pleased with this. For several such reasons as also because this place is very agreeable to my health, I am least anxious to go away; if still I do, it is only to please my guardians.

Now about your problem I would like you to leave your home and become absolutely free from any attachment. But Kaki[2], I think, should sustain the least possible shock. You seem not to have conceived of Kaki's return, whereas I have. She may not come to see you as long as she intends to assert her marital status. However when she grows totally disinterested, she may herself come to see you. But in any case, she must have some accommodation here. You have given up this household; that is right. But the Ashram, i.e., you and I, have to arrange her lodging somewhere on the Ashram premises. If not the same house, some other, maybe the one under construction. However, that is a different matter. But you should never lose sight of this duty. I shall call Shankar and explain to him that he should cheerfully obey your command. For three or four days past I have been discussing with Ramniklal what Shankar should do. I for one have come to the conclusion that Shankar must stay with someone; and Ramniklal agrees with me. I remember your having told me to put him directly under Thakorebhai's care. I have therefore called for Thakorebhai's report on Shankar. This does not mean that there is some cause for worry on account of Shankar. But I see from his irregularity in attendance that Shankar is neither balanced nor industrious. If these failings are condoned, they may have

[1] *Pilgrim's Progress*

[2] Addressee's wife

further consequences. Hence I suggest that he should be looked after with greater care and encouraged to observe the rules.

I want to introduce these changes. I had no intention of writing all this, but since you have issued orders regarding Shankar I let you know what I am thinking about him.

From photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19373

176. LETTER TO VEERSUT

ASHRAM,
March 23, 1926

BHAI VEERSUT,

I have your letter. You ask for details. It goes without saying that every boy should undertake a one-year vow. If this is not clear it may be added to the vow in so many words. Vows for grown-ups are also for the same duration. I think it quite proper for a person to preach and practise something that strikes him as a duty. We need teachers to keep the children on the right path. I do not see any impropriety in what Bhai Gopalrao is teaching the children.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

Dakshinamoorti
Bhavnagar

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19881

177. LETTER TO LALJI

ASHRAM,
March 23, 1926

BHAI LALJI,

Your letter. What you have heard about my vow is correct. Hence I shall have to rest satisfied, with no more than wishing your conference all success. I want every *Antyaja* to abstain from drinking and give up meat-eating; and also to resolve to wear khadi exclusively.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19882

178. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday [Marh 24, 1926][1]

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have your letter. I have also got a letter from Hakim-saheb. The following telegram has been sent to him today:

"Thanks letter. Any arrangement you friends may make will suit."

Now whatever you decide will be final. You may, if you so desire, put me at any other place before I proceed to Mussoorie. As for me, I am prepared to go to Mussoorie direct. It does not matter if it is too cold there; I can stand it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2860

179. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 24, 1926

I had your telegram but no acknowledgement of my letters. You would not want me to recommend in the pages of *Young India* which I may not myself approve of. This proposed collection for South Africa is, in my opinion, a mistake. I cannot understand the purpose. The fifty thousand rupees granted by the Imperial Citizenship Association surely ought to be enough and, necessity being shown, a further grant can be had from the Association. And as long as there is money in the Association for such purposes as the South African, I think it is wrong to ask the public to pay anything. Nor in my opinion is the position in any way changed from what it was at Cawnpore when I gave my opinion against an all-India collection. I would gladly write if you or Sorabji can convince me.

I am glad you have been able to collect much yarn. I suppose I shall receive it in due course. More when we meet.

Yours,

From a photostat: S.N. 19378

[1] The year is inferred from the proposal to go to Mussoorie.

180. LETTER TO ABDUR REHMAN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 24, 1926

BHAI ABDUR REHMAN,

Your letter. If you want to return to Hinduism you should send me further particulars; I can give an opinion only thereafter.

1. What is your present age?
2. Are your parents living?
3. When were you converted to Islam? How was the conversion brought about?
4. Have you studied the *Quraan-e-Sharif*?
5. Why do you now want to return to Hinduism?
6. Are you married?
7. Do you know any Muslim elders?

Regarding your studies you have to see Rajendrababu who looks after the management of the Vidyapith.

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 12044

181. LETTER TO SWAMI SHRADDHANAND

ASHRAM,
March 24, 1926

BHAISAHEB,

I have your letter. I have deliberately refrained from writing anything on Jallianwala Bagh. Soon after coming out of prison I had expressed my opinion that for the present we should not set up any structure. Such an edifice ought to be a memorial to the unity of the followers of different faiths such as Hindu, Muslim and the like. Today if we propose something it may become another bone of contention. I think the amount is safe. The site is kept clean and has grown into something like a park. In the present unhealthy atmosphere around us, I think it best to be satisfied with this much. You may please let me know your views. Why do you say this responsibility rests solely with Malaviyaji, Motilalji and myself? You cannot escape in this way. Your part is no less than that of anyone among us three. I hope you are doing well.

From a photostat of the Hindi: S.N. 19377

182. LETTER TO ANANDLAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, First Chaitra Sud 11 [*March 24, 1926*]

CHI. ANANDLAL,

Why should you write to me at all? I hear about you from stray visitors, and for a moment I am sad. It seems you make no payment towards the maintenance of Chi. Kashi and her children. And you do not, I hear, let her have even the rent which is due to her from the house which forms part of her own share. If so, it is a shame and regret. Let me know if you have anything to say to justify your stand.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19375

183. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, March 24, 1926

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I have your letter. You may do what is needed regarding Bhai Purushottam Joshi. In my opinion, [as] you say, the person who has been paid off and has left cannot be held responsible for the missing papers. Where can he search for the letters? It is another thing if you want to prepare a report regarding the missing papers.

Herewith Chi. Narandas's note about the Amreli office. As Narandas says, you have drawn more than the sanctioned amount, and you still continue to draw. If this is true, we cannot go on like this. Do not [ask] me to go beyond the fixed limit. You must send the figures regularly. You must not write out a *hundi* to Bombay without securing our permission. Jamnalalji enquired about the *hundi* which you issued this time, and I wired to him to honour it so that your credit may not be damaged. But you must not repeat this. Nowadays it is risky to accept *hundis* on telegraphic intimation. There have been cases of embezzlement under cover of big names. Therefore businessmen do few cash transactions by telegrams these days. As per the agreement, you have to produce the khadi. You must bear in

mind two things. You should not work beyond your capacity and oblige us to tell you [to stop]. You must not incur expenditure of a single pie more than what has been agreed upon before me. Remember, without any doubt, that I have no inexhaustible source of funds. Not a pice has yet arrived from Rangoon. Whatever amount is handed over is at our risk and we have ventured on this enterprise solely relying on your efficiency and foresight.

I might, perhaps, leave for Mussoorie on the first of April. You should note that during my absence only such amount as I have permitted shall be drawn. So if there are any arrears of payment according to the previously laid down conditions, you may please point out my error and on my part I shall deal with them accordingly. Previous intimation must be furnished here regarding any *hundi* to be issued. It will be accepted on receipt of a letter to Jamnalalji from here. Consult Bhai Jagjivandas and let me know what is to be done about Gariadhar. Regarding Gariadhar I shall bank upon you primarily. You should discuss with Bhai Jagjivandas also about the sales at the Amreli Centre. I shall also write to him.

Ramdas may or may not stay there; you cannot leave Amreli at present. Why cannot Urmila and Bachu live here without you?

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19376

184. LETTER TO KRISHNADAS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, March 24, 1926

CHI. KRISHNADAS,

I have your letter. Am I the one to write in English when it is left to me? I cannot think of replying in English if you wrote in Gujarati. Bhai Chandrashankar will make the corrections and send them over to you. This time you have given me Giridhar's complete address. I shall therefore send the letter to that address so as to reach there earlier. It seems you wanted it this way. I am inquiring why you do not get your *Navajivan*. Meanwhile it will be dispatched today direct from here. What ever happened to Guruji again? The English-Gujarati dictionary is available. I shall procure a copy and send it to you. You must not remit its price. You can ask for other books or anything else. It has been decided that I go to Mussoorie in the beginning of the

next month. Mahadev, Pyarelal and Subbiah will accompany me.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19379

185. NOTES

Chittaranjan Seva Sadan

The hospital that was to be opened as an all-Bengal Memorial is at last opened in the ancestral property of the late Deshbandhu which he gave away to a trust. One of its objects was to establish a hospital for women. The readers are aware that nearly eight lacs of rupees were collected out of ten that the trustees had expected to be able to collect. Here are the particulars[1] sent to me by Sjt. Naliniranjan Sirkar, one of the trustees:

> The house has been completely repaired and renovated to suit the purposes of the hospital. Furniture and all hospital requisites have been bought. Doctors, nurses and a matron have been appointed and they have taken up their duties. . . .
>
> Mattresses, bed-covers, napkins, screens, cases, in fact all the necessary drapery has been made of khaddar procured from the Khadi Pratishthan.
>
> We have named the hospital "Chittaranjan Seva Sadan". We shall try our best to make the institution a success and we invoke your blessings. . . .

The hospital started under such auspices with fairly ample funds at its disposal should grow day by day and supply the need of the middle class women of Bengal. This hospital reminds us of the fact that social work was as dear to the Deshbandhu as political. When it was open to him to give away his properties for political work he deliberately chose to give them for social service in which women's service had a prominent part.

Will It Be Worked?

The Kongu Velala Conference held at Pollachi, South India, passed the following resolution:

> This Conference urges that the girls and ladies of the Kongu Velala caste should consider hand-spinning as part of their caste industry and that all should wear khaddar clothing. It further believes that charkhas are the instruments that will drive away famine from the country.

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

I congratulate the Conference upon passing the resolution, but will it be accepted by those who are advised to take up hand-spinning as part of their caste industry? And will those who voted for khaddar-wear take to it? I suggest to the members of this Conference that unless men take to spinning themselves, they will find it difficult to persuade the women to do so. They will find it still more difficult to make the necessary improvements in the spinning-wheels or yarn unless there be sufficient men who will become experts in spinning and make such improvements as the local wheels are capable of being adapted to. Hand-spinning for its progress depends more upon solid work than upon resolutions. In all constructive work resolutions have only limited use in the shape of a slight propaganda. It is only intelligent and sustained work that counts.

MONTHLY KHADI RETURNS

The following six provinces have sent in the figures, quoted against their names, of production and sale of khadi for the month of January:

	Production		Sale	
Bihar	Rs.	16758	Rs.	15553
Utkal	,,	3740	,,	2213
Maharashtra	,,	364	,,	3329
Punjab	,,	8998	,,	8323
Karnatak	,,	3349	,,	3659
Gujarat	,,	4502	,,	9795

If the other khadi organizations would send their monthly returns in time to the All-India Spinners' Association, it would be possible to give a record of the progress of khadi from month to month. No better testimony could be given of the value of khadi than the returns of growing production and sale.

As Satis Babu, in his address at the exhibition held in Bihar under the auspices of its Vidyapith, has shown, every yard of khadi means so much money going directly into the pockets of the poor. And these poor people are those who are not reached in any other way, who have no other occupation and to whom even a pie is a welcome coin.

Young India, 25-3-1926

186. 'HE WON'T SPIN'

"Neither will he toil." If the writer of the following letter[1] had toiled enough to search the pages of *Young India*, he would have discovered that every one of the questions raised by him has been already dealt with. But on the principle that as often as error is repeated truth also must be retold, I hasten for the correspondent's sake and for the sake of those who may think like him to reply to the questions raised by him.

Surely, when Hindus have with a deliberate and conscious effort, not by way of policy but for self-purification, removed the taint of untouchability, that act will give the nation a new strength born of consciousness of having done the right thing and will therefore contribute to the attainment of swaraj. We are powerless today because we have lost the power of cohesion. When we learn to regard these five to six crores of outcastes as our own, we shall learn the rudiments of what it is to be one people. That one act of cleansing will probably solve also the Hindu-Muslim question. For in it too the corrosive poison of untouchability is consciously or unconsciously working its way. Hinduism must be poor stuff, if it requires to be protected by an artificial wall of untouchability.

If untouchability and caste are convertible terms, the sooner caste perishes the better for all concerned. But I am satisfied that caste if it is another word for *varna* is a healthy institution. The modern caste with its arrogant exclusiveness is as good as gone. The innumerable sub-divisions are destroying themselves with a rapidity of which we can have no conception.

But let me repeat for the thousandth time that I have not pleaded for inter-dining nor have I advocated forcible entry into temples. But I have said and I do repeat that temple-entry cannot be denied to these countrymen of ours. Time for satyagraha in the matter of temple-entry has not yet come.

It is our fault and shame that the suppressed classes are living outside towns and villages and that they are leading a wretched life. Even as we rightly charge the English rulers for our helplessness and lack of initiative and originality, so let us admit the guilt of the high-caste Hindus in making the untouchables what they are today.

[1] Not reproduced here

The writer seems to admit the necessity of giving these victims of our ignorance and superstition education both mundane and spiritual. How is that to be done unless we freely mix with them on terms of equality? Indeed we need more spiritual training than they do. And the Alpha of our spiritual training must begin by our coming down from our Himalayan height and feeling one with them.

The writer has likened Communists to the untouchables. This is pure confusion. The Communists are not born. The untouchables are. Communism is a creed. Untouchability is a disability imposed from without. As for me, I did not avoid the Communists during the Congress week. I saw them freely and had I the time, I would probably have gone to their meeting. They were free to join the Congress on compliance with its constitution. I support the cause of the untouchables because I know that we have done them a grievous wrong. I should support the cause of the Communists, if it commended itself to me.

Lastly, as the correspondent believes in and wears khaddar, let him demonstrate his full faith by spinning and thus contributing to the output, be it ever so little and linking himself with the teeming millions.

Young India, 25-3-1926

187. A SERVANT OF INDIA

Hanumantharao, some time member of the Servants of India Society, is dead. He has died a martyr to his own ideals. He was a votary of the nature-cure cult. He did not believe in the use of drugs for curing the many ills that flesh is heir to. The only aid to nature he acknowledged was hydropathy according to the system of Louis Kuhne. His belief in the efficacy of this treatment bordered on religious faith. He dreamt of popularizing this method among the villagers. He practised what he preached. He was seriously ill a year ago. He underwent the water-treatment and was believed to be cured. He was convalescing at Vizagapatam and died on 20th instant. Up to the last moment he remained true to his faith. Only a few days before his death he wrote a long letter avowing his faith and gently rebuking me, a nature-cure believer like himself, for weakly taking quinine and submitting to iron and arsenic injections. He had expected more strength from me. In these days of contradiction between precept

and practice, it is refreshing to find a man like Hanumantharao who would remain true to his faith even unto death. What if he was mistaken? He was a searcher after truth. We shall find it only by following what we hold to be true. Hanumantharao lives though dead, for he had realized the immortality of the spirit in the perishable body.

Hanumantharao was a patriot. He loved his country with a passion not to be surpassed. Yet there was no bitterness in him. Non-violence with him was a creed, not a mere policy. He was therefore on my unwritten list of civil resisters of the first grade. He had opened a little institution near Nellore where assisted by a band of co-workers, he was developing khaddar and serving the so-called untouchables living in their neighbourhood. The deceased leaves a widow who believed in her husband and who supported him in his adoption of a life of poverty and extreme simplicity.

Young India, 25-3-1926

188. 'EXERCISE THE COPYRIGHT'

A correspondent writes:

> Your permission to newspaper proprietors to copy, if they wish, the chapters of your autobiography seems to me to be prejudicial to the circulation of *Young India* as well as *Navajivan*. Having observed the commercial spirit in the newspaper world, I have arrived at the opinion that it is not right for you to permit the newspapers to copy those chapters. People will then for the purpose of reading the autobiography subscribe to *Young India* and *Navajivan* who are not now subscribers and read the other articles contained in them. Why lose this opportunity of broadcasting your message and why be a sharer in the sins of broadcasting liquor and other questionable advertisements such as French art, invigorating and vitalizing medicines, obscene books and "short stories"? This is not only my opinion but that of many readers of *Young India*.

Whilst I appreciate the benevolent motive underlying this advice, I cannot help saying that I am unconvinced of the soundness of the advice. I have never yet copyrighted any of my writings. Tempting offers have come to me no doubt in connection with the chapters of the autobiography, if such they may be called, and I am likely to succumb to the temptation for the sake of the cause I stand for. But even so, I dare not be exclusive. Writings in the journals which I have the privilege of editing must be common property. Copyright is not a natural thing. It

is a modern institution, perhaps desirable to a certain extent. But I have no wish to inflate the circulation of *Young India* or *Navajivan* by forbidding newspapers to copy the chapters of the autobiography. The message I seek to deliver through the pages of *Young India* or *Navajivan* must stand on its own bottom and I am satisfied with the number of subscribers who buy these journals for the message that they stand for and not for any temporary interest that might be created in writings such as the autobiography. Nor am I able to subscribe to the opinion that by not availing myself of the statutory right of prohibiting the publication of anything I may write in the pages of these journals, I become a sharer in the sins of those newspaper proprietors who take in the advertisements referred to by the correspondent. I do from the bottom of my heart detest these advertisements. I do hold that it is wrong to conduct newspapers by the aid of these immoral advertisements. I do believe that if advertisements should be taken at all there should be a rigid censorship instituted by newspaper proprietors and editors themselves and that only healthy advertisements should be taken. But I no more become a sharer in the crime of taking immoral advertisements by refraining from making use of the law of copyright, than I do by not walking to their offices and engaging the proprietors in a duel if they will not remove the offending advertisements. The evil of immoral advertisements is overtaking even what are known as the most respectable newspapers and magazines. That evil has to be combated by refining the conscience of the newspaper proprietors and editors. That refinement can come not through the influence of an amateur editor like myself but it will come when their own conscience is roused to recognition of the growing evil or when it is superimposed upon them by a government representing the people and caring for the people's morals.

Young India, 25-3-1926

189. A TAMILNAD VILLAGE[1]

Soobri insisted on my going to Kalangal.

"It is a place you should see" said he. "You have seen and admired Anthipalayam. Kalangal is better than Anthipalayam."

Everybody is fond of Sjt. K. Subramaniam—for that is Soobri's true and full name—young and old, men and women dote on him. The secret is his childlike innocence and his spirit of service. He is a jewel of a young man. I would do anything if only to please Soobri. So I went to Kalangal. It is a village 13 miles from Coimbatore. . . .

The village was a marvel of cleanliness. . . . There were no street dogs, for nobody threw leaves or offal into the street. Everything went into the well-prepared manure-pit in the yard at the back of each house.

The inside of my host's house was a model of order and cleanliness. . . . Two beautiful spinning-wheels of generous size and in perfect running order, the spindles full of fresh-spun yarn, adorned the hall. The ladies of the house observed no oppressive reserve or purdaism of any kind. . . .

We went round to see other families. Every household had its charkha, and all in beautiful working order. They showed us everywhere the yarn they had spun and the clothes they had made. . . .

This beautiful village of Kalangal was like a balm to a heart that was aching at the sight of hard-hearted indifference and Lancashire cloth all over the country. We were in front of the temple of Draupadi, and I told them to remember Draupadi's case. If India would place faith in God like Draupadi and accept the charkha re-presented to her by Gandhi, she could save herself from outrage and dishonour. Kalangal was a flower unplucked, casting its living fragrance all around. Let other villages copy the example. All honour to the youngmen, Soobri and his friends, who planted the seed in this fruitful soil in 1924.—C.R.

Would that there were more villages like Kalangal. Here evidently sanitation has gone side by side with the progress of the wheel. Let workers elsewhere note.

Young India, 25-3-1926

[1] From this article by C. Rajagopalachari, only excerpts are reproduced here along with Gandhiji's comments.

190. LETTER TO PRATAPSIMHA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Thursday, Chaitra Sud 11 [March 25, 1926][1]

KUMARSHRI PRATAPSIMHAJI,

I had your letter dated March 3. I hear Rana Saheb is now back in Porbunder. Please send a reply to my letter now if you can do so.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19374

191. LETTER TO FULCHAND

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Thursday, Chaitra Sud 11 [March 25, 1926][2]

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

I have your letter. How quickly you despair. I am an incorrigible optimist and I cannot help it. Where you see no hope at all, I see some. My faith is never disturbed. People from Bhavnagar may hurl all sorts of taunts at us, but we must not budge or be bullied. I am sure some khadi can always be sold in cities; but our activities should no doubt cover mostly the villages. I have no objection to your working on municipalities and similar bodies. But one person must not take up several jobs. I have found a field for myself. A political association must have a far-flung activity; khadi work alone is such an activity, or work among the *Antyajas*. Quite a few persons come forward to work in the municipalities. It is a good thing if they do it and with credit. But not many people are likely to take up the work of khadi and *Antyajas*. We alone have to make it respectable. And if we have the faith why should we be stopped by public criticism? I am not convinced by your suggestion that we should stock cotton. Shambhushankar seems to have done it at Gariyadhar. I do not think there is anything wrong about it. People may be encouraged

[1] Gandhiji was in correspondence with the addressee in 1926 in connection with the holding of the Kathiawar Political Conference at Porbunder; *vide* "Letter to Pratapsimha", 25-2-1926.

[2] The year is determined by the reference to the Rana's return to Porbunder and the proposed meeting of the Kathiawar Political Conference there.

to store cotton, and we may get it carded and spun for them. But all this should be at their expense. Otherwise we fail to realize the significance of the khadi movement. The basic motive of the khadi movement is not boycott of foreign goods but providing work for the unemployed and freeing them, as far as we can, from hunger. Boycott may follow as a result of this. If we insist on making it an end in itself we shall fail. If unemployment and starvation in India were not linked together as cause and effect I would take my hands off the wheel.

We must proceed with this in view. Therefore our job is to make the poor produce khadi and sell it to the masses. Hence I do not feel concerned about the piling of khadi in Amreli; I should, if it were to be taken outside Kathiawar. But if it comes to a standstill I may be prepared even to export it out of the country, not to speak of Bombay and other places. I can therefore propose only one test. Whenever we produce khadi we should see whether or not we get it spun only by those poor people who do not have an alternative occupation, whether we offer them the approved rates and whether the yarn is spun diligently or reluctantly. If you are satisfied on these three counts you may let the work continue there.

People were mistaken if they had set high hopes on my statements regarding Gondal and Jamnagar. Let them by all means stick to the mistake in spite of their disillusionment. And what shall we do if they leave us? We can only try.

I am enclosing Dewansaheb's letter which you should keep with you. You need not return it to me. I hear that Rana Saheb has returned; so I shall send him a reminder today.

I hope to send within two months, i.e., in June, the five thousand rupees that I have promised to get for the *Antyaja* Ashram. I shall start from here in the beginning of April to return by the end of May and shall soon thereafter arrange for the Rs. 5,000. Will that be in time?

Read this letter to Devchandbhai. It is but right that the meeting should not be convened at Porbunder before getting Dewansaheb's reply. And now I think no part of your letter remains unanswered.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19380

192. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

AHMEDABAD,
March 26, 1926

SETH JAMNALAL BAJAJ
KANKHAL

IF I AM TO FIX DATE I SHOULD SAY SOME TIME AFTER MIDDLE APRIL. WEATHER HERE UNUSUALLY COOL JUST NOW.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 47

193. LETTER TO JOS. E. DENNISON

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 26, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I regret to have to inform you that I do not keep any photograph of myself. And for many years now I have not even given a sitting to a photographer. There are however photographs sold in the bazaar. They are all snapshots. In my opinion they are all caricatures.

Yours sincerely,

JOS. E. DENNISON, ESQ.
DIRECTOR
TWO RIVERS BOYS' WORK ASSOCIATION
H. P. HAMILTON SCHOOL
TWO RIVERS, WISCONSIN
(UNITED STATES)

From a photostat: S.N. 12430

194. LETTER TO KATHERINE MAYO

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 26, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I was glad to receive your letter before you left and gladder still to see that you propose to [1] the whole matter. Verify for yourself the statement I made and then come to a judgment. That is precisely what I want American friends to do. To take nothing for granted, challenge every statement whether it comes from Indian source or European source and whether they are anti-Indian or pro-Indian, then come to a deliberate conclusion and act upon it.

I send you herewith the quotations from the books whose names you will find at the end of the quotations. If you still have any difficulty in getting hold of the books from which the quotations have been taken, do please let me know. I would want to add also that the statement about poverty of India does not rest merely upon the testimony of the late Sir William Wilson Hunter but it has been confirmed by subsequent observations made both by Indians and Europeans. If you want this information also substantiated by me, I shall be pleased to send you proofs. I also suggest to you a method that even a man in the street may adopt for verification.

1. Is it or is it not true that nearly 80 per cent of the population of India is agricultural and living in remote villages scattered over an area of 1,900 miles long and 1,500 miles broad?

2. Is it or is it not true that these peasants are living in small holdings and often as serfs of big zamindars?

3. Is it or is it not true that the vast majority of them have at least four idle months in the year?

4. Is it or is it not true that before the British rule these very people had hand-spinning and industry ancillary to agriculture which supplemented the slender income they had from agriculture?

5. Is it or is it not true that whilst hand-spinning has been entirely killed no other industry has taken its place?

[1] The source has a blank here.

If the answer to all these questions be in the affirmative, no-matter what statements might be made by anybody, these agriculturists must be poorer than they were before hand-spinning was destroyed. There are many other causes for the growing poverty of the masses but those that are implied in the questions are, I think, enough for the ordinary enquirer. I have suggested this line of enquiry to you so as to enable you to test the tragic truth of India's growing poverty in many ways.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 12451

195. LETTER TO AMULYA CHANDRA SEN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 26, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I do not claim that the whole truth has been revealed to me. But in so far as it has been a natural thing for me, I cannot recall the time in my life when I changed from untruth to truth. Please tell the lady missionary friend that during my Bengal tour, I visited several missionary institutions conducted by Englishmen. Some of them had nothing to do with hand-weaving or hand-spinning. She will be interested to know perhaps that I made it a point to visit the Government Weaving Institute at Serampore and the Girls' school close by conducted by the Church of England Mission. If therefore I did not visit her carpet works, it could only be because of want of time.

I thank you for telling me that you are using nothing but khaddar.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. AMULYA CHANDRA SEN, M.A.
SENIOR LECTURER
LANGUAGE SCHOOL, QUEEN'S HILL
DARJEELING

From a microfilm: S.N. 19383

I have not written to him expecting him to write to me when he was free from the affairs of the delegation.

Yours sincerely,

HAKIMJI AJMAL KHAN SAHEB
DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 19385

198. LETTER TO MARIAM ISAAC

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 26, 1926

DEAR YOUNG FRIEND,

I have your letter. If you wish to serve the poor in the largest sense of the term, I can only suggest to you the introduction of the spinning-wheel and khaddar propaganda. It is difficult to work but you can touch the disease of poverty thereby. I am glad you propose to begin spinning. You should end with introducing it in every home as a measure of discipline and sacrifice and [to] the poor for wages. You can also adopt khaddar yourself and introduce it among your friends. This continuous identification with the poor will enable you to find out for yourself many other ways of serving them.

I am arranging to send you a free copy of *Young India*. I hope you will file it or pass it on to others who may care to read and who may not be able to buy it.

Yours sincerely,

SHRIMATI MARIAM ISAAC
C/o MR. A. M. PAUL
AREECKAL, MECKAVE
ANGAMALI
N. TRAVANCORE

From a microfilm : S.N. 19386

199. LETTER TO D. V. RAMASWAMI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 26, 1926

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your touching letter. I sent you a letter before receiving yours through Krishna. I sent one also addressed to Hanumantharao's wife. I had no doubt in my mind that Hanumantharao had died bravely. I expect you now so far as it is possible for you to continue Hanumantharao's work where he had left it. Let me know about yourself. What are you doing? I hope that all the members of the family are taking the event joyfully. It will be wrong to grieve over a death so brave as Hanumantharao's. Please send the second letter that I wrote to Hanumantharao to the friend at Rajahmundry and let me have his address also. I would like in so far as it is possible to put in more work for nature-cure than I have done hitherto. For, whilst Hanumantharao was alive, I felt that I need not meddle where he was specializing.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. D. V. RAMASWAMI
VIZAGAPATAM

From a microfilm: S.N. 19387

200. LETTER TO CHINESE FRIENDS[1]

March 26, 1926

I should get an invitation from the delegates. My message of peace has to be acceptable at least to my hosts if not to anyone else. In that case they should come and acquaint themselves with my point of view, after which I may think of going there.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 87

[1] Retranslated from a Gujarati translation. For Gandhiji's proposed visit to China, *vide* "Letter to A. A. Paul", dated March 3, May 9 and 30, 1926.

201. LETTER TO MITHABAI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, Chaitra Sud 12 [March 26, 1926][1]

GANGASWARUP BEHN MITHABAI,

I have your letter. I am pained at your grief. I am glad to see your devotion to Bhai Shivji. But what can I do if your letter fails to make any impression? Am I to blame if in spite of my best efforts I cannot see matters in the same light even if they are exactly as you describe them? I believe I was quite in my senses when Mavjibhai and others came here, whereas you think I talked nonsense. I still do believe that when I talked about my wife I neither criticized her nor did anything improper.

If there is to be an arbitration I shall certainly place your letter before them. You will be able to come in person and tell them whatever you want to.

From a copy of the Gujarati: S.N. 19381 R

202. LETTER TO MAVJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, Chaitra Sud 12 [March 26, 1926][2]

BHAISHRI MAVJI,

I am being pressed in some quarters to throw light on the affair of Bhai Shivji. On the other hand Bhai Shivji's followers are naturally attacking me. I am in a fix. I can satisfy neither the followers nor the critics. Bhai . . .[3] writes an indignant letter alleging it was I who suggested an arbitration. I know nothing of the sort. If Bhai Shivji does not want it he may drop the arbitration. I shall be grateful to you if this little matter can be cleared soon. I shall not take long before the arbitration. I am ready for them at any time. If arbitration involves delay why can you not yourself make some inquiries and enlighten me regarding the state of affairs? After all one purpose in having the arbitra-

[1] The year is determined from the reference to Shivji's case and the possibility of an arbitration.

[2] From the reference to Shivji's case and the proposed arbitration

[3] Name dropped in the source

tion was of course to remove any suspicion under which I might have been labouring. Why can you not take up this matter and dispose of it yourself? Do whatever you think proper. But please do put an end to this suspense. I am surely not going to lose my patience. How can I desire any injustice to Bhai Shivji? I only want this state of indecision to end.

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 19382 R

203. *LETTER TO HERBERT ANDERSON*[1]

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 27, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I send you herewith a list of the Secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committees and their addresses. It might be as well for you to send a direct question to every member of the Assembly and Local Councils asking whether he would support total prohibition. I wonder if you saw my note in *Young India*[2] upon the proceedings of the Prohibition League in Delhi. In it, I have endeavoured to show that your campaign is ——[3] unless you show how to raise the revenue and how to meet the deficit that may be at least temporarily caused by total prohibition. If you have not seen the number I shall gladly send you a copy of the same issue if available or at least a typed copy of the note.

Yours sincerely,

REV. HERBERT ANDERSON
59, KING'S ROAD
HOWRAH
CALCUTTA

From a photostat : S.N. 12164

[1] In reply to a letter dated 19-3-1926 from Herbert Anderson, the Honorary General Secretary of the Prohibition League of India; the letter requested Gandhiji to use his "personal influence" in favour of their campaign for prohibition.

[2] *Vide* Vol XXIX, "Total Prohibition", 4-2-1926.

[3] The source has a blank here.

204. *LETTER TO FRIEDRICH HEILER*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 27, 1926

EAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and the book for both of which I thank ɔu. I am sorry I do not understand German myself but I shall ·y to understand your book through a friend.

I am afraid I cannot give you a satisfactory reply regarding adhu Sunder Singh. I had the pleasure of seeing him but nce. At the request of a Christian friend I invited him to visit he Ashram and pass a few hours with us which he kindly did ʼhilst on his way to Europe. But I made no enquiries about his xperiences nor have I ever felt the call to make such enquiries ince.

Yours sincerely,

FRIEDRICH HEILER, ESQ.
PROFESSOR OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MARBURG

From a photostat: S.N. 12435

205. *LETTER TO G. P. NAIR*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 27, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I am sorry that you felt grieved over my not answering an open letter you wrote to me. I may however tell you that an open letter does not require to be noticed, or acknowledged. Open letters are written to public men to draw pointed attention to matters they cover. I sometimes take notice of such letters when I feel that I might serve the cause that might have been belittled or misrepresented in them. There was no desire to be discourteous. Your request this time is indeed delicate. How shall I give you guidance or inspiration when I do not know the policy of the paper you propose to publish? The very name that you have adopted certainly frightens me. Not that I do not

appreciate republicanism but republic for India is, in my opinion, a meaningless term at the present moment. I know that opinions differ in this matter but I must hold to my own. I am anxious to make common cause with the younger generation but I cannot see eye to eye with them. The utmost I can do is to keep myself in the background and let them learn by bitter experience what they refuse to learn from the experience of others.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. P. NAIR
EDITOR
"REPUBLIC"
MALL ROAD, CAWNPORE

From a photostat: S.N. 19388

206. LETTER TO MOHAMMED ALI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 27, 1926

MY DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER,

A correspondent writes a bitter letter asking why he does not see your name figuring in the list weekly published in *Young India* of members of the All-India Spinners' Association. I also ask the same question. I did not know till the receipt of the letter that you had not sent a single month's subscription. If you tell me you are too worried or too busy, I am not prepared to accept the excuse. Either hand-spinning is a vital necessity and the Spinners' Association a proper body for its spread or the spinning-wheel is not a necessity and, if it is, the Association is not the proper body for its spread. In the first case, no excuse can be accepted from one in your position, not to remain in the Association. In the second case no excuse is necessary for going out of the Association but unequivocal condemnation is the right course. I know that you swear by the spinning-wheel. I know that you recognize that the Spinners' Association is the proper body and therefore it is that I would refuse to accept any excuse from you.

How are you keeping? I do not want to enquire how you are feeling regarding the country's position. It stares us in the face. Where is Shwaib? I am supposed to go to Mussoorie some time next month. If that event comes off, I expect to see you at the station when I pass through Delhi. And how is my reputed dicta-

tor? And how is Begum Saheba? I suppose she has been sending her yarn regularly. Why the girls should not do likewise I don't know.

Yours,

MAULANA MOHAMMED ALI
DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 19389

207. LETTER TO R. D. TATA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 27, 1926

DEAR MR. TATA,

You will perhaps recollect that you were good enough to tell me when I was at Jamshedpur that you would gladly give me as many spindles and *taklis* as I wanted not exceeding one lac. I think that was the number mentioned if my recollection serves me right. I had left it to Satish Babu to send the pattern according to which he wanted the spindles and *taklis* to be made. But I do not think that the thing materialized much beyond the conversation. At the present moment I am overwhelmed with demands for spindles and *taklis* and I am unable to cope with them. Could you give me the *taklis* and the spindles? Whilst I have reminded you of the conversation, I do not want you to go out of your way to give me these articles. I would like you to examine the thing as an independent proposition and if you feel that you could without much inconvenience or expense help this cottage industry movement to the extent I have suggested, I shall be obliged.

I have sent directly to Mr. Alexander a parcel containing specimens of spindles and *taklis*. There are four varieties and if you pro[pose] to supply these you will please fix the number to be supplied and I would have an equal proportion of each.

I may say that each spindle or *takli* costs us about two to two annas and six pies each. If, therefore, you give me lac for us it would amount to a donation of at least Rs. 12,500 and according to the advice at my disposal it will cost you nothing less than Rs. 3,000 in all.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19391

208. LETTER TO C. A. ALEXANDER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 27, 1926

DEAR MR. ALEXANDER,

I send you herewith a parcel containing four specimens of spindles and *taklis*. You will recall the conversation during my visit to Jamshedpur that I had with Mr. Tata and at which you were present that your works should give me one lac of spindles and *taklis*. I do not see anything was done after the conversation. I have written to Mr. Tata to ask whether he would like to issue instructions for the supply of these articles. In order to save time and in anticipation of Mr. Tata's answer in the affirmative, I have sent you the parcel. Will you please then, if you get Mr. Tata's sanction, let me have these things as early as possible? I am overwhelmed with applications for these things and I have found it difficult to cope with the demand.

If the full one lac is to be given, I would like 25,000 in each of the four specimens. I need hardly say that they should be absolutely true. The slightest untrueness about these spindles makes them wobbly and it becomes difficult to work then with speed. The rims to the *taklis* need not be brass or gun-metal. Cast iron will serve just the same purpose.

Yours sincerely,

C. A. ALEXANDER, ESQ.
JAMSHEDPUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 19390

209. LETTER TO NAJUKLAL N. CHOKSI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, Chaitra Sud 13 [*March 27, 1926*][1]

BHAISHRI NAJUKLAL,

May all your noble efforts bear fruit. May you be completely free from disease.

How can I be pleased with Moti's request that she might write only one letter a week? But I think it is better to have nothing at all than force her to write, because forced writing is likely to produce a general dislike for letters which will then defeat the very purpose of letter-writing. I shall of course continue to write letters. Who told you I did not approve of Moti's practice of writing out a gist of what she read? Well, I think I had praised the practice. I also faintly remember having written to Moti to prepare her gist better. Now, I think, Moti's week too is past. It is my experience that writing once a week is more difficult to remember than writing more frequently. But now let us see how Moti keeps up her practice. Please do not shame her into writing. It does not matter if she forgets; while yet forgetting, she may overcome her failing.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12121

210. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, Chaitra Sud 13 [*March 27, 1926*][2]

CHI. PRABHUDAS,

I saw your letter to Kashi. I can understand your eagerness to have her back. You had written to her about the cold which made her hesitate. Now she can leave as soon as you are ready. But no accommodation has been arranged yet, as I learned on enquiry today. They have yet to fill in the application form and

[1] From the reference to Moti's promise to write to Gandhiji daily after her marriage

[2] The year is inferred from the combination of the day, the date and Gandhiji's staying at the Ashram.

other things. To whom is the application to be sent? We shall act promptly if you let us know the name and address of the person who is authorized to allot the accommodation. I had an impression that Swami had taken everything upon himself and all we have to do was to leave this place. You are not to bother yourself regarding this; I mean not at the cost of your health. Let us have as much information as you can send from there and the rest of it we shall manage here. You cannot at present leave Lonavla; that's quite right. How you came to have fever I shall know only when I get your letter. You should not panic when you get some temperature; I see signs of it in your letter.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19392

211. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, March 27, 1926

CHI. DEVDAS,

Your letters are getting more and more scarce. I hope you will not lapse ultimately into the practice of writing an annual Diwali letter. Ramdas and Jaisukhlal have come today. I have not been able to exchange more than a casual word with them. I may not perhaps go to Mussoorie before the 15th of April. I shall know more about this in a day or two when I get a telegram. Dr. Suresh Banerji of the Abhoy Ashram is at present here. He will stay till Tuesday.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19393

212. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, Chaitra Sud 13 [March 27, 1926][1]

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. There can be no impertinence in what you write; what then have you to apologize for? I can understand your fears. I think we can easily make arrangements at Dharampur; but if you go to Dharampur why not to Panchgani?

[1] From the reference to Gandhiji's proposed stay at Mussoorie and the addressee's necessity of staying at a health resort

At Panchgani we can have Sir Prabhashanker's bungalow. He has left instructions to let me have it; so you can go there. Or you can go to Simhagad if you want to. There too the climate is cool. It was only with me that Jivraj himself stayed. If I can be accommodated where Kaka stays, you along with Taramati can certainly be accommodated. If you have a mind to go to Simhagad, Devdas will take a look at the place; he will also find out if this will cause any inconvenience to Kaka. If you do not want to go there, I may fix up Dharampur or Panchgani. When I say Dharampur, I mean Malbari's sanatorium. Mussoorie is not altogether out of my mind. I shall ask you to come only if I like it there.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19394

213. *SOME QUESTIONS ON RELIGIOUS ISSUES*[1]

A friend has asked me questions on some religious issues. I continually receive such questions, and feel some hesitation in answering them so often. But it does not seem proper not to answer them either, since I have thought about these matters and come to certain conclusions. I therefore answer the following questions to the best of my ability and understanding.

Q. What are your views about the *yajnas* which used to be performed in ancient times? Do such *yajnas* purify the air? Is there a place for them in our times? Some groups are reviving *yajnas*; will their revival be of any benefit?

Yajna is a beautiful and highly suggestive word. Its meaning, therefore, can change and expand with the growth of our knowledge and experience or with changing times. The word can be interpreted to mean worship, sacrifice or service of others. Understood in this sense, *yajna* always deserves to be revived. But the *yajnas* of various types, that is, rituals of various kinds described as *yajnas* in Shastras, do not deserve to be, and in fact cannot be, revived. Some of these rituals are harmful, and it is also doubtful whether in Vedic times they were understood in the sense which we attach to them now. Whether or not this doubt is justified, some of these rituals are repugnant to our reason and moral sense. Anthropologists tell us that there were human sacri-

[1] This was abridged and translated by Mahadev Desai and later published in *Young India*, 13-5-1926, under the sub-titles "Sacrifice, Old and New", "Place of Sanskrit", and "Self-help and Mutual Help".

fices in old days. Can we conceive of such a sacrifice being performed now? Anyone who proposes to perform the horse-sacrifice would make himself an object of ridicule. We need not go into the question whether *yajnas* purify air, for it is irrelevant to ask, in connection with a religious ritual, whether it results in such a trivial benefit as the purification of air. Modern physical science can give us better help in that regard. The essential principles of Shastras are one thing [and the practices based on them another]. The principles are the same at all times and in all places. But the practices based on them vary from age to age and country to country.

Q. It is generally believed that to be born as a human being is a rare privilege and that, therefore, we should occupy our time in singing praises of God. If we fail to make the right use of our present opportunity, we shall once again have to go through the cycle of births in 84 lakhs of different species. What is the truth in this belief? Kabir also says in a song:

Wake up, O brother, says Kabir,
Else you are doomed to the round of eighty-four lakhs of births;
You may be born a swine or a fowl,
And will suffer their fate, my brother.

What lesson should we learn from this?

I believe this to be quite true. One is born as a human being after going through the cycle of births in innumerable species, and *moksha* or complete deliverance from the pairs of opposites can be attained only through life in a human body. If in the ultimate analysis there is only one *atman*, its going through the cycle of countless species in the form of innumerable lives should not seem impossible or wonderful. Our reason, too, can accept the idea, and some persons even remember their past lives.

Q. Between a yogi rising to the state of *samadhi*[1] through *pranayama*[2] and one who acquires control of the senses, who attains higher spiritual good?

This question presupposes a contradiction between self-control and yoga. In truth, one of them is the cause of other; or, rather, they are complements of each other. *Samadhi* without self-control is no better than the sleep of Kumbhakarna[3]. Without *samadhi*, again, self-control is difficult to attain. *Samadhi*, in this context, should be understood in a wide sense, not in the limited sense of

[1] A state of thought-free awareness

[2] Breath-control

[3] In the *Ramayana*. He was Ravana's brother, and was asleep and awake by turns for six months at a stretch.

the *Hathayogi's*[1] *samadhi*. In truth, this latter is not essential for attaining control of the senses. It may be a help, but in the present age ordinary *samadhi* is the best for us. Ordinary *samadhi* means the capacity to be absorbed in the chosen task. It should not be forgotten that yogic achievements are of no use if not accompanied by control of the senses.

Q. Suppose that a person believes in self-help, himself works in the fields and grows foodgrains for his use, makes with his own hands farm implements, like the plough, does the carpenter's work, weaves his own cloth, even builds his own house, in short produces by his own efforts everything which he requires and does not employ other's labour for that purpose. Would he be right or wrong to do this? What is your definition of a man of self-help?

Self-help means the ability to stand on one's own feet without help from others. This does not mean that one should be indifferent to such help, or decline it when offered or never desire it or ask for it. But a farmer who, though wanting and seeking others' help, can preserve his composure and self-respect when it is refused, is a man of self-help. A farmer who, though he can get others' help, himself attends to all the operations of tilling the land, sowing and reaping, himself makes the required implements, himself weaves cloth for his use from yarn spun by himself, stitches his own clothes, cooks his own food and labours to build a house for himself—such a farmer is either stupid or self-conceited or is just a savage. Self-help necessarily implies the *yajna* of bodily labour, which means that everyone should do such work to earn his livelihood. Any person, therefore, who works for eight hours in the fields is entitled to the services of a weaver, a carpenter, a blacksmith and a mason. It is his duty to seek their services, and he will get them easily enough. In retrun, carpenters, blacksmiths and other artisans get foodgrains produced by the farmer's labour. An eye which hopes to do without help from the hand does not practise self-help, it is just too proud. As the different limbs of our body practise self-help in regard to their own functions, and yet are of service to others because they help one another and dependent on others because they are helped by one another, so we, the thirty crore limbs of the body that is India, should follow the duty of self-help in our respective spheres of work and, to demonstrate that we are limbs of the same nation, exchange help with one another. Only then shall we have built up a nation and proved our claim to be patriots.

[1] A yogi who relies on certain physical techniques

Q. For the purpose of marriage ceremonies, *sandhya*[1], *yajna* rituals and prayers, Sanskrit verses are used in our age. The verses are recited by the person officiating on these occasions and those who have engaged him join him in reciting the verses without understanding their meaning. Sanskrit is no longer our mother tongue. Many institutions ask the people to use that language for prayers, *sandhya*, *yajna* rituals, etc. But the people do not understand the language. How, then, can they concentrate attention on what is being recited? Sanskrit, moreover, is a difficult language. Learning the verses by heart and remembering their meanings seems to me, therefore, a double burden. When Sanskrit was people's mother tongue, all their work was done in it and that was but right. That is no longer the position now. It helps people to use their mother tongue for all their work, but our present practice is different. The religious ceremonies mentioned above are performed in Sanskrit among the general public.

My view is that Sanskrit should be used in all Hindu religious ceremonies. However good a translation, it cannot give us the meaning which lies in the sounds of certain words in the original. Moreover, by translating into regional languages, and remaining content with such translations, verses which belong to a language which has acquired a certain refinement over thousands of years and in which those verses have always been recited, we diminish the air of solemnity which attaches to them. But I have no doubt at all in my mind that the meaning of every verse and every step in the ceremony should be explained in their own language to the people for whose benefit they are being recited or performed. It is also my view that the education of every Hindu is incomplete without an elementary knowledge of Sanskrit. I simply cannot conceive the continued existence of Hinduism without a widespread knowledge of Sanskrit. The language has been made difficult by the type of curriculum we follow in teaching it, in itself it is not difficult at all. Even if it is, the practice of dharma is still more difficult and, therefore, to those who wish to follow it in life the means of doing so should seem easy, however difficult they may actually be.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 28-3-1926

[1] Morning and evening prayers

214. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 28, 192[*6*][1]

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter. A telegram has just arrived from Jamnalal telling me that I may leave this place after the 16th of April. At present we have very nice weather here. The mornings are very cool and the afternoons too are not particularly warm.

Please believe me I would do my utmost if I could bring both the parties[2] together. But for the present the task seems to be beyond my capacity. Our differences with the Swaraj Party will persist. As observed by Maulana Mahomed Ali, leaving aside personalities, when we compare the two creeds, the Swaraj Party's creed is certainly more commendable, though both of them are inferior to non-co-operation.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original: C. W. 6123. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

215. LETTER TO KUNVARJI V. MEHTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, Chaitra Sud 14 [*March 28, 1926*][3]

BHAISHRI KUNVARJI,

I had a letter recently from Bhai Kalyanji, telling me of the demise of Dahyabhai. He also describes Dahyabhai's condition and adds that you and your wife took it well. He writes too about the recitation from the *Gita* at that time. Since you could maintain a natural calm, I need not advise you to have courage. But I must write this, if only to chasten your faith, that he who really believes in the reality of the soul will not fear nor

[1] This apparently is in reply to the addressee's letter to Gandhiji dated 24-3-1926. (S.N. 10857)

[2] Of Madan Mohan Malaviya and Motilal Nehru

[3] Gandhiji did not go to the Ashram after 1930; hence the year.

be shaken by unexpected death. Those who pass away in the full bloom of their youth or even at a tender age also obey Nature's law. We are frightened because we do not know all her laws. But why not look at it this way. Dahyabhai's soul had no more use for that body and so this fell off. It is only proper to discard useless matter. This thought should help us overcome our grief. Our grief is reasonable only so far as the body had any use for us. But such grief is selfish. What selfish interest could a worker have? I want you all to know this truth, shed all your grief and resume your normal duties. If, even then you cannot overcome your grief, remember I share it with others. Let everyone share your grief. *Ramanama* will give you real peace.

I am not writing a separate letter to Bhai Kalyanji.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2715; also S.N. 10859

216. LETTER TO MITHUBEHN PETIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, March 28, 1926

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. It is certainly advisable as a general rule not to get a richly variegated cloth from Andhra. But if anyone asks for some special thing regardless of cost, you should get it at whatever price it is offered. Ultimately this money too goes into the weavers' pockets. But in every case we should get things without binding ourselves in any way. Bhai Karsandas has handed over the yarn you sent. Are all those women to be registered as members? A member has to sign the pledge and always use khadi. Please send me Nargisbehn's address. As for yourself, you should have patience and depend solely on nature. If you can cease to be anxious it is certainly well and good. Of the khadi you asked for we do not have much of the one of 36" width. Khadi of 27" width is available. I am sending it. Can 30"-32" width not serve your purpose? I am sending a sample of khadi of 36" width. Its price is annas 12 for bleached and annas 11.5 for unbleached. But never mind the price. To you I shall supply it only at the price you like. I am sending it with Bhai Karsandas and I have also asked him to get more for you if it

is available in Bombay. I hope in Mahabaleshwar you have improved a lot. Do keep writing to me.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 10858-A

217. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN CHOKSI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, March 28, 1926

CHI. MOTI,

Your letter. You shall have to satisfy me about your handwriting. Sometimes it is moderately good, which only shows that efforts do improve it. A person's handwriting often reveals his conduct. In the present case I find much disorder. In spite of the same person writing with the same pen, some [letters] are large, some small, some scattered apart and some huddled up; there is no end of striking out and erasing. Your card contains 17 lines in all. If a person's Gujarati writing is such a mess, he cannot have my congratulations on his excellence in English. If I were his instructor, I would strictly forbid him to write or read English.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 12122

218. LETTER TO PHOOKEN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 29, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Mr. Banker now tells me that for a long time a sum of Rs. 4,000 is due from you to the Khadi Board, now the All-India Spinners' Association. Every pie is at the present moment required to go through the Budget. Could you not now make this payment?

Yours sincerely,

SJT. PHOOKAN
ASSAM

Copy to the A.I.S.A. Office for information.

From a microfilm S. N. 11158

219. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SABARMATI,
March 29, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I saw your telegram about Utkal. After going through the figures, I advised Shankerlal to authorize to give you Rs. 2,000-0-0.

As you know, personally I am intensely dissatisfied with the Utkal management. We have spent a great deal on Utkal. The accounts sent by Niranjan Babu are not satisfactory in my opinion. One does not even know how much each office costs. It is impossible to make out from the accounts whether the sales are cash sales or credit. Please get from Niranjan Babu the following particulars:

(1) a. Names and qualifications of each worker and the wages paid to each,

b. The station where each is posted,

c. Whence payment is made for each centre,

(2) a. The sales in each centre,

b. Whether cash or credit,

c. When are book debts considered to be good, i.e., expected to be recovered?

d. What about the doubtful debts?

e. We should have the names and addresses of all the debtors to the extent of Rs. 37,000-0-0.

f. What is the base of classification of good, bad and doubtful debts?

(3) a. How many spinners and weavers are working through these organizations?

b. What are the wages paid to the spinners and the weavers?

c. Samples of khadi produced with their selling price,

d. How is the selling price arrived at?

And such further information you may require to be added as you consider necessary. And when all this information is avail-

able, it will be possible to decide whether further expenses should be incurred on behalf of this enterprise.

Yours,

SJT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
CALCUTTA

Copy to the A.I.S.A. Office for information.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19395

220. LETTER TO PRABHALAKSHMI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Chaitra Vad 1 [March 30, 1926]

CHI. PRABHALAKSHMI,

I have your letter. I see nothing immodest in your letters; so you may write to me regularly. But I find in them much day-dreaming, disquiet and confusion. It becomes difficult to guess what you wish to convey. I want you to overcome these short-comings resolutely. Your letter seems to suggest that the life of a widow is ever miserable. But we have experience to the contrary. Child-widows are often miserable. No doubt about that. But I know many women who were widowed in childhood but have now grown up bearing their misfortune with dignity. This should not be exceptional in Hindu society. A woman may have only one husband and a man only one wife; but there can be a number of brothers or sisters. Why do you not look for more brothers? Will you take no help? Moreover, when your only intention is to serve what help do you need? Surely you can render no less service by remaining at your own post. The position of a teacher is not inconsequential. You can impart as much [education] as you wish to the girls who come under your guidance. A person who has chosen service as her mission will surely find opportunities to serve at every step. I want you to rouse yourself from your slumbers.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 10848

221. *LETTER TO JAMNADAS*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, March 30, 1926

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I have your letter. I could deal myself with [the situation] regarding the school; you need not come here on that account. But you may make the trip if you need a personal assurance. I know Jhaveri Deepchand. I stayed at his place in England; I was not favourably impressed by him. But I feel that it is more relevant to ascertain the character of the young man himself who is being considered for betrothal. If he is all right, we can ignore his father. If Deepchand Jhaveri's son is a good lad, I see no serious fault in Deepchand Jhaveri as a father-in-law. My advice to Liladharbhai will, therefore, be that, rather than think about Deepchand Jhaveri, they should make enquiries about his son.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19396

222. *LETTER TO KUNVARJI*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Chaitra Vad 1 [*March 30, 1926*]

CHI. KUNVARJI,

I have your letter. I had a letter from Chi. Bali too on the same subject. It is good you wrote frankly. I shall do whatever I can. I suggest that you too start writing to Rami. I have asked her also to write to you. And you should write at length about whatever failings you notice. I don't approve of the convention that a married couple may not write to each other while their elders are living. Indeed, in a Hindu family the training of a girl is completed only after her marriage. I could see from my experience that a husband who is indifferent to this training or neglects it out of passion, fails his own self, his wife and his dharma. Your correspondence can become a means of such training.

I am glad to learn that you are quite comfortable there and in good health.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19397

223. LETTER TO PRANJIVANDAS MEHTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Chaitra Vad 1 [March 30, 1926][1]

BHAISHRI PRANJIVAN,

There has been no letter from you these many days, not even an acknowledgment of my letters. I do hope you have been getting them. I hear you are now keeping well; so I don't worry in spite of your silence.

Herewith Chi. Jeki's letter, as also Natesa Iyer's. Although I have been asked not to send you Bhai Manilal's reply, I am sending it since I think you ought to see it. You need not take notice of whatever Bhai Manilal writes, but we should consider what is the best thing to do about it. I think if we fix for him a monthly allowance, he could educate the children as he pleases.

I have now stopped writing with my right hand and since it takes time to write with the left, I have been dictating my letters to save time. I am keeping all right. I shall most probably go to Mussoorie by the end of April.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19398

224. LETTER TO LAKSHMIDAS

March 30, 1926

CHI. LAKSHMIDAS,

I am very glad that you are improving. Do not think of running away from the place before you have completely recovered.

Anandi has another attack. Whenever she has temperature it is very high. Today she has been given a castor-oil purgative; also three grains of quinine; and I have instructed Vallabhbhai to get a mixture from a doctor. When we get it, it will be continued according to your wish.

Mani mixes well with us. But I have not yet been able to remove that horrible nose-ring. The girl is very loving, she is also vivacious and she does talk a lot.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19399

[1] From the reference to the proposed stay at Mussoorie

225. *LETTER TO NIRBHAYRAM V. KANABAR*

ASHRAM,
March 30, 1926

BHAI NIRBHAYRAM,

I have your letter. I have never known of any Vedic injunction regarding the piercing of the nose and ears. But even if such an injunction is proved to be there I would still maintain that we can no more continue this practice than we can human sacrifice. I know of several men with their ears pierced who had developed hydrocele. And it is common knowledge that innumerable people who have not had their nose and ears pierced are free from it. And I also know that people have been cured of their hydrocele without having had their ears pierced. The statement you quote says that the custom of piercing ears seems to have been introduced from abroad. When we have faith in three persons who do not agree amongst themselves, either we should rely on our own reason or we should follow the one in whom we have the greatest faith.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

NIRBHAYRAM VIJAYRAM KANABAR
AT SAMI, STATION HARIJ, NORTH GUJARAT

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19883

226. *LETTER TO KANTILAL M. DALAL*

ASHRAM,
March 30, 1926

BHAI KANTILAL,

I have your letter. I do believe that, having had a human life, a soul may be degraded to existence in lower species like animals, plants and so on.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SHRI KANTILAL MOHANLAL DALAL
29, GHANCHINI POLE
AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19884

227. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN CHOKSI

ASHRAM,
Wednesday, March 31, 1926

CHI. MOTI,

This is the first letter of yours which I find in a good handwriting. Now, if I come across one not as good as this, shall I send it back? I am very pleased to hear that Najuklal has completely recovered. Do not think, just because I praised your handwriting that there is no more scope for improvement. But I can see a lot of labour behind the handwriting in today's letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12123

228. LETTER TO ABDUL HUSAIN

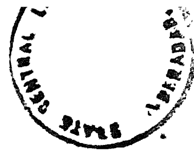
ASHRAM,
March 31, 1926

BHAISHRI ABDUL HUSAIN,

I have your letter. You can yourself resolve the fix which you have got into. If you feel it your dharma to give up meat-eating you should firmly resist your mother's pressure. If the giving up of meat-eating is only an experiment, it would be wrong to hurt your mother for this.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19885



229. LETTER TO VASANJI

ASHRAM,
March 31, 1926

BHAI VASANJI,

I have your letter. Pure love knows no impatience. Pure love has nothing to do with the body but belongs to the soul. Love of the body is only lust which is of even less importance than the rules of caste. There can be no impediment in the path of spiritual love. But such love is austere and infinitely patient. What does it care if there is no union till death? Your first duty is to place your problem before your elders, listen to what they say and think over it. Finally, when your heart is cleansed by the observance of the prescribed disciplines, it will be your dharma to obey its call.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19886

230. MY POLITICAL PROGRAMME

I gratefully reproduce the following letter received from American friends accompanying a gift of 145 dollars:

> The signers of the accompanying note are a group of Bostonians and two Westerners who owe you much. Accept the gift we venture to send as a very inadequate expression of our will to ally ourselves with your work. Small as they are, for some of us the gifts have meant sacrifices. We should be glad to have the money used in that part of your work which most directly appeals to us, that is in the interests of the untouchables and of Hindu-Muslim unity. Dean Simonds and some of the other signers feel, like Professor Hocking, too little informed as to conditions in India to be quite ready to accept in full your political programme. We all, however, heartily wish to have a part in the work I have mentioned.
>
> God, who is with you, will surely bring to India the better day of which you are the prophet. Will you not pray sometimes for this America, no less in need of His help?

I have told them that in accordance with their wishes the amount would be evenly divided between the two activities. But

on receiving the letter I could not help feeling sad that even among extremely sympathetic and cultured American friends the movement is so little understood. When, therefore, American friends visit me and ask me how they can help India, I tell them to study the movement not superficially, not from newspapers, not as globe-trotters in a hurry, but as serious students by accurate observation and by gleaning information from all sides and all parties.

My political programme is extremely simple. If the donors had added the spinning-wheel to untouchability and unity, they would have practically completed it. My opinion is becoming daily more and more confirmed that we shall achieve our real freedom only by effort from within, i.e., by self-purification and self-help, and therefore by the strictest adherence to truth and non-violence. Civil disobedience is no doubt there in the background. But civil disobedience asks for and needs not a single farthing for its support. It needs and asks for stout hearts with a faith that will not flinch from any danger and will shine the brightest in the face of severest trial. Civil disobedience is a terrifying synonym for suffering. But it is better often to understand the terrible nature of a thing if people will truly appreciate its benignant counterpart. Disobedience is a right that belongs to every human being and it becomes a sacred duty when it springs from civility or, which is the same thing, love. The anti-untouchability reformers are offering civil disobedience against entrenched orthodoxy. Protagonists of Hindu-Muslim unity are resisting with their whole soul those who will divide classes and sects. Just as there may be this resistance against those who will hinder the removal of untouchability or promotion of unity, so must there be resistance against a rule that is stunting India's manhood. It is daily grinding down the starving millions of this vast country. Heedless of future consequences the rulers are pursuing a course of conduct regarding intoxicating drinks and drugs that must, if it remains unchecked, corrupt the toilers of the land and make posterity ashamed of us who are making use of this immoral source of revenue for educating our children. But the condition of this terrible resistance against orthodoxy, resistance against enemies of unity, and resistance against Government—is possible of fulfilment only by a strong, and if need be a long, course of self-purification and suffering.

Young India, 1-4-1926

231. *GOLDEN SLIPPERS* v. *RAGS*

> They are for religion when in rags and contempt: but I am for him when he walks in his golden slippers, in the sunshine, and with applause.

Thus ended Mr. By-Ends his oration in support of his theory that the priest and the trader may be considered honest, even whilst the one tempers the scriptures to suit his audience and the other tempers truth to win custom. Mr. By-Ends had the support of his distinguished friends Messrs Hold-the-World, Money-Love and others. Overwhelmed though Christian and Hopeful were by the orations of By-Ends and Company, they stood their ground and with the whole power of their being defended their faith in religion especially when it came in rags and contempt. They had before them the finished act of Faithful who never flinched though he was tortured to death by the inhabitants of the town of Vanity. Almost similarly did Sjt. Rajagopalachari defend patriotism in rags and in contempt at the Bihar Vidyapith Convocation. He said:

> This Vidyapith is alive by the strength and faith of a few faithful men. It is struggling hard for its existence. It cannot boast of the rich appointments and shining splendours of the universities and colleges of the Government. No wonder they are splendid and no wonder that our Vidyapith is like unto a rag as compared with the silken robes of royalty. But ours is a yellow rag that serves its purpose and clothes the naked sannyasi; it is clean and it is dear to us.

No silken robes certainly, no golden slippers for the graduates of the Vidyapith, no shining metal chain for the Vice-Chancellor. He must bear the burden of the rough khaddar robe woven and spun by the hardened fingers of the toiling spinners and weavers and the graduates must be content to bear the burden of willing service of the masses if they are to live true to the motto of their University. They belong to a Civil Service at the end of which the only pension may be ever-recurring malaria, tuberculosis or some such disease, a mark of unremitting service in the swamps inhabited by the half-starved millions who are made to find the wherewithal to build New Delhi, to train soldiers for the suppression of their liberty and to instruct in palatial buildings young men and even young women in the art of ruling these millions.

The conductors of the Vidyapith had arranged a khaddar exhibition at the time of the annual ceremony. I gave last week extracts from the speech of Satis Babu who opened the Exhibition. This week I reproduce extracts from Sjt. Rajagopalachari's address. There is food enough in both for young India to ponder over and digest. These national institutions should exist even though professors and teachers have to live from hand to mouth and even though the pupils may be counted by the digits of one hand. Only the teachers and the pupils must be true to the incredibly simple ideals, viz., truth and non-violence expressed through the spinning-wheel, purification of Hinduism by removing the taint of untouchability, and consolidation of India by striving for the heart-unity of different sections professing different faiths or sub-faiths. National education must therefore respond to these needs and aspirations. A national University that would tamper with the ideal for the sake of gaining numbers will have sold its heritage for a mess of pottage and will deserve to die. The Bihar Vidyapith has been holding on to the ideal in the face of tremendous odds. I know its struggles. Bihar is a poor country but that does not mean that it has not its rich zamindars or its quota of rich enterprising men from other provinces who are adding to their riches by their operations in Bihar. Let all these examine the claim of the Vidyapith as stated in the annual report read before the Convocation and help if they find the claim to be established and if they are of opinion that the ideal I have just named is an ideal worth living for and dying for, an ideal which it would be well for the youth of the country to have instilled into their hearts.

Young India, 1-4-1926

232. *BIHAR VIDYAPITH*

I commend the following address[1] of Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari who was specially invited to speak to the students of the Vidyapith at its annual Convocation:

Young India, 1-4-1926

[1] Not reproduced here

233. NOTES

BENGAL'S WORTHY EXAMPLE

I wonder whether khadi lovers have noticed the interesting fact that out of all the provinces, Bengal alone has steadily refused to depend upon customers outside Bengal for the sale of her khadi. Although her production has been uniformly progressive, she has sold all her khadi in Bengal. It is the most proper way of handling this great problem. Deshbandhu whilst he was in Darjeeling used to tell me that the hope of Bengal leading the way in the matter of khadi as in many other matters was very great because of the interest the middle class people took in public matters. He said that he expected to reach the masses through the middle class who will not only be the first wearers of khadi but who will also be his first voluntary spinners. And he expected khadi and the wheel to permeate the masses through the influence of the middle class. That phenomenon seems to be taking place in Bengal today on a larger scale than in any other province.

The two large khadi organizers—the Khadi Pratishthan and the Abhoy Ashram—have somehow or other set their face resolutely against sending their khadi outside Bengal for sale. The result is that they weave khadi according to the requirements of the middle class. Hence they are able to check themselves from time to time and are obliged to keep up a high level and their sales departments are as well organized as their production depots. I feel that if the workers all over India will copy the example of Bengal and organize themselves for local sales, much time and money will be saved and the progress of khadi will be much more rapid.

BEZVADA MUNICIPALITY AND KHADDAR

The following report[1] from the Bezwada Municipality will be read with interest:

This is a creditable record. The Municipality can easily quintuple the output of yarn by introducing the *takli* which leaves no room for excuse on the part of boards, teachers or pupils. The *takli* means practically no cost, no taking up of space, and no trouble of breakage of parts.

[1] Not reproduced here

NOT AVAILABLE

A U.P. correspondent writes:

> I find here a great demand for khaddar among *vakils*. I sold some. They complained that they had no khaddar store in their town and told me they wanted to collect Rs. 5,000 and form a company.

I hope the proposed company will be floated. I had complaints of this nature during the Bihar tour. The reason why the country is not dotted with khadi stores is that there is as yet not enough demand for khadi to warrant such stores. Experience shows that when such stores are opened, and for want of regular propaganda fail to be self-supporting and are therefore closed after a time, the money invested is lost and the movement is discredited. The better thing therefore is for the All-India Spinners' Association agents to keep in touch with khaddar lovers, advertise specimens and prices and periodically hawk khaddar in the likeliest place. When they find a place with a regular and large enough demand, they may advise local moneyed men to open khaddar store whose business will be to carry on regular propaganda.

EXHIBITIONS

Exhibitions if they can be periodically held in different places are likely to prove more effective. It is stated that those held recently at Delhi and Banaras were fairly successful. They need not cost much and might even be made self-supporting. It was no small gain for the respective committees to have had Lala Lajpatrai at Delhi and Acharya Dhruva at Banaras to open the exhibitions. They have, when they are well managed, a great educational value. They also provide a neutral platform for all parties and sections to work together for the common cause. I have not yet known a public man having any objection to khaddar as such on principle.

Young India, 1-4-1926

234. *MESSAGE TO A MEETING*[1] *AT TRIVANDRUM*

April 1, 1926

Reformers in Travancore have done good work for the eradication of untouchability. The more I think about this evil from the point of view of religion, the more I become convinced that untouchability is a blot on the fair face of Hinduism. I, therefore, hope that reformers will not rest in peace till the untouchables are permitted to enter every temple and join any school in exercise of the rights they have in common with other Hindus.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 11-4-1926

235. *LETTER TO BOODHOO*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 1, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Whilst I wish success to your institution, I am afraid I must not allow my name to appear as patron. I never accept that honour when I can render no service and I frankly confess that I am unable to render any service to your institution even[2] to the extent of sending someone there. For, it is very difficult to persuade young men to go out when the energy and service of all who are willing are required in India itself.

Yours sincerely,

BOODHOO, ESQ.
PEN WINDSOR FOREST
WEST COAST DEMERARA
BRITISH GUIANA

From a photostat: S.N. 12455

[1] The meeting discussed a programme to secure temple entry for untouchables.

[2] The source has "not even".

236. LETTER TO F. A. BUSH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 1, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. It is perfectly true that very often things Indian are misreported and misrepresented. In the instance you have quoted, however, the President of the Congress is correctly reported. She did advocate a national militia.

As a reformer wanting the whole world to accept Non-violence as its final creed, I do not hesitate to appear on platforms where even direct violence may be preached. I no more identify myself with that preaching than I identify myself with all the violence that goes on in the world being in it. I hold that it is enough if I disassociate myself from every form of violence, mentally and physically, and express my disapproval whenever the occasion requires it.

I do not know whether you know that the Congress creed is 'attainment of swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means'. Violence is therefore eschewed in its entirety in the national programme. But I must at the same time own that it does not mean that on the Congress platform people may not advocate the formation of a national militia for purposes of defence. From my own standpoint, a national militia is not necessary but people who do not believe in Non-violence as their final creed cannot possibly be made non-violent. The spread of non-violence depends upon cultivation of public opinion. Personally I am satisfied that that spirit is daily growing in spite of appearances to the contrary.

Yours sincerely,

A. BUSH, ESQ.
MORDEN, SURREY
ENGLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 12456

237. *LETTER TO PAUL LIND*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 1, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your interesting and instructive letter. Whilst I entirely agree with you that the meaning that a writer attaches to the words he uses should be clear to his readers, I know as a matter of fact that whatever failure attended Non-co-operation was not due to the people not understanding Non-violence and its implications. The reason was that though they knew it all, they were not able to act up to it.

Yours sincerely,

DR. PAUL LIND
HAMBURG
LUEBECKERSTRASSE
(GERMANY)

From a photostat: S.N. 12457

238. *LETTER TO DUNICHAND*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 1, 1926

DEAR LALA DUNICHAND,

I have your letter. I would very gladly accept your kind invitation had I been a free agent but I am not. The whole of the arrangements for a change to a hill station have been taken over by Messrs Ghanshyamdas Birla and Jamnalalji Bajaj and I think that they have already arranged something in Mussoorie. You will therefore please excuse me. I hope that Mrs. Dunichand is keeping her promise about the spinning-wheel.

Yours sincerely,

LALA DUNICHAND
VAKIL
AMBALA CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19402

239. LETTER TO S. P. ANDREWS-DUBE

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 1, 1926

MY DEAR DUBE,

I have your letter. I do not know where they are going to put me in Mussoorie. The whole arrangement is being made by Messrs Birla and Jamnalalji Bajaj. But I think that when I reach Mussoorie, I shall find you there, when you will tell me all about your sad experiences.

Ramdas has just come here from Amreli. I am showing your letter to him.

Yours sincerely,

S. P. ANDREWS-DUBE, ESQ.
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
LUCKNOW

From a microfilm: S.N. 19403

240. LETTER TO BINODE BEHARI DUTT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 1, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and your book on *Town Planning in Ancient India* for which I thank you.

I wish I could make a promise that I would read your book at an early date but it is really not possible. All my time is filled up with the immediate work before me. But I am going to keep your book in front of me so that whenever I can steal in a minute I could have an idea of its contents.

Yours sincerely,

PROF. BINODE BEHARI DUTT
4/1 A, BADHAPRASAD LANE
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19404

241. LETTER TO JANG BAHADUR SINGH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 1, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and the cutting. In my opinion it would be much better for you to see Lalaji and Pandit Santanam and make a public appeal in co-operation with them. I am quite certain that the institution should live but how to do it depends upon local circumstances. People would undoubtedly want to know what Lalaji and Pandit Santanam have to say.

Yours sincerely,

JANG BAHADUR SINGH, ESQ.
EDITOR, "NATION"
RAILWAY ROAD
LAHORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 19405

242. LETTER TO REV. JOHN M. DARLINGTON

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 1, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I remember our meeting.

The incident referred to by you has never happened. I do not know where the report occurs. Whilst I have the highest regard for the teachings of Jesus, I have never held the belief attributed to me.

Yours sincerely,

REV. JOHN M. DARLINGTON
14-2, SUDDER STREET
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 19406

243. LETTER TO S. V. VENKATANARASAYYAN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 1, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I do not think that it is necessary to forget one's own faith in order to be tolerant towards the rest. In fact, tolerance loses its value when one's own faith is forgotten. In my opinion, tolerance requires the same respect to be paid to another's faith as we claim for our own.

I am of opinion that God can be reached without a mediator.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. V. VENKATANARASAYYAN
7, MILLER ROAD
KILPAUK, MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 19407

244. LETTER TO KALISHANKER CHAKRAVARTI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 1, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter regarding "widow marriage". Don't you see the fallacy underlying your letter? Could you consider that to be marriage where the girl knows nothing about what a husband can be, where, perhaps, she has not even seen the man who is to be her partner in life and where they have not even lived together for one single night? I know nothing in Hinduism to warrant such a connection being accepted as marriage. Then again, what is the use of defending widowhood of girls of tender age under plea of advocating purity on the part of men? The latter should certainly be advocated but it cannot be used in order to cover the wrong heaped upon the fair sex. The sanctity of widowhood must be felt by the widow, cannot be imposed upon her. Divorce and other irregularities going on in the West have surely nothing to do with the very simple question of doing elementary justice to the thousands of our own sisters. Hinduism is in grave danger of being undermined by our own fanaticism and

the habit of defending every practice of Hinduism no matter how repugnant it may be to the moral sense of the world.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KALISHANKER CHAKRAVARTI
JYOTI, CHITTAGONG

From a photostat: S.N. 19408

245. LETTER TO SUDHANSHU KUMARI GHOSH

ASHRAM,
April 1, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is very sad to find that Sarat Babu is fasting. Somehow or other I think that it is quite wrong and I hope that long before this reaches you he has broken his fast.

Yours sincerely,

SHRIMATI SUDHANSHU KUMARI GHOSH
BARISAL

From a microfilm: S.N. 19887

246. LETTER TO KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA

ASHRAM,
Thursday, Chaitra Vad 3 [*April 1, 1926*]

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I keep getting news about Gomati[1]. Why can you not have a curtain to ward off mosquitoes? It is surprising that you should lose appetite there. We do use a number of foreign articles; try lithia-water. Lithia-water is a mineral product. Borodada used it regularly. Andrews had strongly recommended it to me, but I did not try it, because I never felt the need. But it would be good if Gomati tries it. The loss of appetite must be due to the water. I have not forgotten the Nasik *pinjrapole* which you have mentioned. Its manager had seen me. I had no intention of opening a branch of the Satyagraha Ashram, but Jamnalalji did suggest that we should acquire a plot in a healthy locality where

[1] Wife of the addressee

ailing people could live and we did consider Nasik in this connection. If we keep only sick people in the place they will not be able to render such service. Therefore for the present we cannot busy ourselves with any other activity where we acquire a site.

I am certainly staying here till the 15th. The date of departure will be fixed for some date after that.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19401

247. LETTER TO P. S. VARIER

[On or after *April 1, 1926*]

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter enclosing a copy of your *Ashtangashareer* for which I thank you. I should inform you that *Young India* is not a reviewing paper. Occasionally it notices books that are of superlative value and concern the subjects with which the writings in *Young India* are generally occupied.

Yours,

P. S. VARIER
KOTTAKKAL

From a microfilm: S.N. 19888

248. LETTER TO MIRZA KAZIM ALI

[On or after *April 1, 1926*]

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am getting quite well now. It is difficult for me to send *Young India* free. You should really go to some reading-room and read it there. There are thousands of poor students and it is beyond my capacity to supply them all free copies.

MIRZA KAZIM ALI
STUDENT
HYDERABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 19889

249. LETTER TO SHAH JAMIL ALAM

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 2, 1926

I have your letter. A pure heart enable[s] one to find and see truth. Every one of us therefore must aim after purity of heart. All else follows as a matter of course.

From a photostat: S.N. 11057

250. LETTER TO A. JOSEPH

April 2, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter enclosing copies of your letters to *The Hindu* and to Mr. Satyamurti. I have also copies of *The Hindu* containing the advertisements referred to by you. I am entirely of opinion that advertisements about things injurious to the nation should not be taken by public journals at all but it is very difficult for me to interfere in such matters. I can only express my own opinion through the columns of *Young India* which I do from time to time. As you might have noticed, I had occasion to refer to this matter of immoral advertisements[1] only recently.

Yours sincerely,

A. JOSEPH, ESQ.
519, SILVER STREET
ST. THOMAS MOUNT
MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 12162

[1] *Vide* "Exercise the Copyright", 25-3-1926.

251. LETTER TO DIRENDRANATH DAS GUPTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 2, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter with a report of khadi work. Satis Babu was here recently, and I had a talk about you with him. He told me that he was anxious to help you all he could. I have really no money apart from the Charkha Sangh fund that I can send you and the Charkha Sangh fund can only be utilized in the ordinary manner. I do hope therefore that you will write to Satis Babu and secure help you want through him.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. DIRENDRANATH DAS GUPTA
VIDYASHRAM
BEAMIBAZAR P. O.
SYLHET

From a microfilm: S.N. 19409

252. LETTER TO C. V. KRISHNA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 2, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNA,

I hope you received my letter[1] about Hanumantharao which was written immediately after your telegram was received. I hope also that you received my telegram. Together with your letter, I sent a letter for Mrs. Hanumantharao and another for his brother. I am anxious to know whether they have been received. I now send you a letter which was addressed to Hanumantharao and which has been returned undelivered. I send it to you as it contains a reference to the Ashram. I am anxiously waiting for a letter from you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KRISHNA
NELLORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 19410

[1] Dated March 21, 1926

253. *LETTER TO N. S. VARADACHARI AND S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 2, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Your joint production[1] is now being revised and I am sorry to observe that there are too many defects in it. You have expected the proof-reader to find out books and the references you want quoted. How can the books be found? Where you have not given pages, how is one to find the quotations? Do you not think that the quotations should have been neatly copied out by yourself and references given? Nor have you supported all your statements with references in footnotes. Proper names have been written as if they were ordinary words. It is very difficult to trace all the names so written. The collection too seems to have been hastily done. The printing is almost held up on account of these defects. I do not know how I can cope with the difficulty that stares in the face. Where can I find the references? Can you suggest a way out of the difficulty? If one of you come here and fill in the gaps, it would expedite matters. Or if you wish, I could send a copy to one of you. The letter is posted to both of you at your respective addresses.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. N. S. VARADACHARI
ERODE

SJT. PUNTAMBEKAR
HINDU UNIVERSITY
BANARAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 19411

[1] *Hand Spinning and Hand Weaving—An Essay* by S. V. Puntambekar and N. S. Varadachari

254. *LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday [April 2, 1926][1]

BHAI DEVCHANDBHAI,

I have your letter. I note that the committee[2] meets here on the 13th at 2 o'clock. I shall be ready.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5711

255. *LETTER TO HERBERT ANDERSON*[3]

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am enquiring about *Young India.* It is true that subscriptions are all reckoned from quarter to quarter or year to year. Otherwise, book-keeping becomes a most difficult thing. The proper way therefore is to subscribe from the 1st of March and to get the previous numbers commencing with the biographical chapters. I am sending herewith either a copy of my criticism on the Prohibition Convention or a copy of *Young India* containing the criticism if the latter is possible.

With reference to the last paragraph of your letter: In the prohibition campaign you refer to, picketing was the essence of that campaign. It was done under the most adverse circumstances including opposition, both silent and open, as you will have seen from the report of enquiry conducted in Assam by Mr. Andrews. The only lasting remedy is total prohibition because, the drunkard is a diseased man quite unable to help himself. Many of them would gladly welcome outside help in the shape

[1] From the postmark

[2] Working Committee of the Kathiawar Political Conference

[3] In reply to his letter dated 30-3-1926. Herein the addressee had request-for a message for the first issue of his quarterly, *Prohibition.*

of total prohibition. The two things, therefore, have, in my opinion, to go side by side.

Yours sincerely,

Encl.
REV. HERBERT ANDERSON
59, KING'S ROAD
HOWRAH

From a photostat: S.N. 12166

256. LETTER TO L. GIBARTI[1]

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I appreciate the sentiment underlying your proposal. But I consider myself wholly unfit to shoulder the burden. My methods too of serving the oppressed people are so different from those generally accepted by Socialists and they are yet in the nature of an experiment. I therefore fight shy of belonging to any organization that I do not know thoroughly and that I cannot serve usefully.

Yours sincerely,

L. GIBARTI, ESQ.
SECRETARY
INDIAN DEPT.
LIGAGEGEN KOLONIALGREUEL UND
UNTERDRUCKUNG
BAMBERGER STR. 60
BERLIN, W, 50

From a photostat: S.N. 12458

[1] In reply to the request on behalf of the League against Cruelties and Suppression in the Colonies to include Gandhiji's name as the International Chairman for India. This League had its branches in many countries.

257. LETTER TO HELENE HAUSSDING

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am glad that your persistence has been rewarded and that you will be soon in our midst. I am not going to discourage you any longer now, nor give you any warning. I am hoping that you will be able to retain your health here and that you will have no cause for disappointment. I shall try my best to make you comfortable and to keep you employed.

The specimen of wool of your own spinning that you have sent is quite good.

Yes, the name of the bank is "Bank of Baroda, Ahmedabad".

Do please bring your sewing machine as also your music and all the books of your library. You shall have all the necessary assistance for learning Hindustani.

Yours sincerely,

FRAULEIN HELENE HAUSSDING
26, LINDENBERGSTRASSE
WERNIG ROAD, a.HARZ

From a photostat: S.N. 12459

258. LETTER TO D. V. RAMASWAMI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I note that you have not yet received the letters[1] I sent to you and the widow through Krishna[2]. I have no doubt, that for the time being, at any rate, you must continue to earn and simplify as much as possible the lives of those who are dependent on you.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Mrs. Hanumantharao", 21-3-1926, and "Letter to D. V. Ramaswami", 21-3-1926.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to C. V. Krishna", 21-3-1926.

In the letter to the widow I have said that if she would come to the Ashram to be here, she will be welcome and the Ashram people will give her all the attention that is possible. Please understand that this is not a formal proposal. There should be therefore no hesitation about accepting it if it is at all possible.

You do not want me to write the preface before seeing your book.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. D. V. RAMASWAMI
VIZAGAPATAM

From a microfilm: S.N. 19412

259. LETTER TO R. D. SUBRAMANIAM

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter as also the packet of yarn sent by you. The yarn is now being tested. I shall await further supply.

I hope my previous letter does not bear the interpretation that the count may not be above 20. The idea was not to have the count below 20. If what you have sent is uniformly 55, it would be all the more welcome on that account.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. D. SUBRAMANIAM
WEST SREERANGAPALAYAM ROAD EXTENSION
SALEM

From a microfilm: S.N. 19413

260. LETTER TO G. P. NAIR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You leave me more confused than I was before as to the meaning of the word "Republic". I notice that there is the widest possible difference between your views and mine. How can I then send you any note of encouragement?

I do not for one moment believe that the N.C.O.[1] movement has lost its charm nor am I at all convinced that the Bardoli decision was a blunder. And, I am more than ever convinced that those who care for the poor and who understand them cannot do better than concentrate the whole of their energy on the spread of the charkha and khaddar and boycott of foreign cloth.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. P. NAIR
EDITOR, "REPUBLIC"
MALL ROAD, CAWNPORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 19414

261. LETTER TO P. GOVINDAN KUTTI MENON

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Here are my answers:

1. I wish to see God face to face not as I would like to see Him but exactly as He is.

2. If the whole world becomes celibate in my sense, it will be transfigured into something infinitely superior to what it is today but there is not much chance, I fear, of the whole world taking to a life of complete self-restraint all of a sudden. There-

[1] Non-co-operation

fore we thus talk of *grahasthashrama*, the stage next to that of complete celibacy.

3. There is not much hope of my visiting Kerala in the near future. You are misinformed in thinking that purity amongst the untouchables and unapproachables is not preached. Not only is it preached but it is practised.

4. I do not desire total abolition of English but if you will think in terms of the millions of each province, you will find that for them English can never be the medium of instruction. Hindi should be the language of intercommunication between provinces and English should be the language of intercommunication between India and the World. It therefore comes third in point of time as also importance.

5. I do not think that there ever will be one religion in India or elsewhere. But there will be and should be sincere respect and toleration for one another's religion.

6. If everybody spins regularly there need be no surplus self-spun yarn but there will be enough for all and that with the least possible trouble and expenditure that the world has ever conceived. And if there was a surplus, we could automatically reduce the time spent by each on spinning.

7. I have put nothing before the people which the most ordinary man cannot do. For instance, what is the difficulty in everyone handling a spinning-wheel, or giving up foreign cloth, or giving up drink, or in believing and in promoting Hindu-Muslim unity, or in regarding an untouchable as his own brother, or in learning Hindi in addition to his own language?

8. One's food should consist of grains, fruit, milk and the fewest condiments, if any at all. Much fat should be avoided. The quantity and quality should be regulated by actual and careful experiments.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. GOVINDAN KUTTI MENON
PANDARATHIL HOUSE
PUDUCODE
VIA OTTAPALAM
S. MALABAR

From a photostat: S.N. 19415

262. LETTER TO DHARMA VIR

ASHRAM,
April 3, 1926

BHAI DHARMAVIRJI,

Your letter. Concentration of mind can be attained only by constant practice.

1. Concentration can be practised by devoting ourselves to noble and desirable activities; for instance, some people busy themselves with nursing the sick, some in service of the *Antyajas*, some in plying the charkha and propagating khadi.
2. Some attain concentration by repetition of *Ramanama* with sincere faith, and some by yogic and the other methods.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI DHARMAVIR
VAIDIK PUSTAKALAYA
LAHORE ROAD, LAHORE

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19894

263. LETTER TO RAMRISH THAKUR

ASHRAM,
April 3, 1926

SIR,

I have your letter. Maulana Shaukat Ali has sent in his yarn for a few months and we expect to have the arrears. Those who do not send in their yarn, whoever they may be, will not be eligible for membership. Maulana Mohamed Ali has sent no yarn, so he is obviously not a member.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI RAMRISH THAKUR
NO. 22, GOENKA LANE
BORA BAZAR, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19895

264. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

April 3, 1926

CHI. MANILAL,

I read your letter to Ramdas; also Fatima's. And of course I had anticipated this; Jalbhai did give a hint. You are a free man; so I cannot force you to do anything. But I write to you as a friend.

What you desire is contrary to dharma. If you stick to Hinduism and Fatima follows Islam it will be like putting two swords in one sheath; or you both may lose your faith. And then what should be your children's faith? Whose influence are they to grow under? It is not dharma, but, only *adharma* if Fatima agrees to conversion just for marrying you. Faith is not a thing like a garment which can be changed to suit our convenience. For the sake of dharma a person shall forgo matrimony, forsake his home, why, even lay down his life; but for nothing may faith be given up. May not Fatima have meat at her father's? If she does not, she has as good as changed her religion.

Nor is it in the interests of our society to form this relationship. Your marriage will have a powerful impact on the Hindu-Muslim question. Intercommunal marriages are no solution to this problem. You cannot forget nor will society forget that you are my son.

If you enter into this relationship, you may not be able to render any service. I fear you may no more be the right person to run *Indian Opinion*.

It will be impossible for you, I think, after this to come and settle in India.

I cannot ask for Ba's permission. She will not give it. Her life will be embittered for ever.

In proposing this marriage you have thought only of momentary pleasure. You have not at all considered your ultimate happiness.

Pure love is as between brother and sister. Whereas here the main urge is carnal pleasure.

I want you to get out of your infatuation. As far as I understand, Ramdas and Devdas also have arrived independently at the same conclusion, as mine.

I could not embolden myself to discuss this with Ba.

May God show you the right path.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 1118. Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

265. LETTER TO MANSINGH JASRAJ

ASHRAM,
April 3, 1926

BHAISHRI MANSINGH,

Your letter. Your guess is correct. I have no daughter. And that woman has been playing the hoax everywhere. This has appeared once in *Navajivan*; but I shall write again.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI MANSINGH JASRAJ
C/O SJT. SHAMALBHAI BABARBHAI
ADEN CAMP

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19890

266. LETTER TO NARBHERAM P. MEHTA

ASHRAM,
April 3, 1926

BHAI NARBHERAM POPATLAL,

I do not wish to write anything more than what I have already done about Swami Dayanand Sarasvati's book.

2. Menstruation is a monthly sickness demanding utmost peace and quiet for the woman, and a contact with a passionate man is horrible for her.

3. The same reason applies to a nursing mother and I believe it is a very good convention to have her confined for at least twenty days. But it is the other extreme to say that even kinswomen may not touch her.

4. To practise what we believe is what seems to me the correct meaning of *achara*.

5. It is not true that anyone in the Amreli centre is given

more pay than he deserves, or that they are given more funds than their produce is worth.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI NARBHERAM POPATLAL MEHTA, RANSIKI
P.O. KUMBHAJINI DERDI (KATHIAWAR)

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19891

267. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL B. PATEL

ASHRAM,
April 3, 1926

BHAISHRI CHIMANLAL,

The best instruction can be imparted when one identifies oneself with the students. For this the teacher has to get fully conversant with the subject he teaches.

2. Out of the *Gita* and the *Ramayana*, read carefully, one can get everything.

3. As regards diet, wheat, milk and green vegetables should be enough for the most part. Spices and oil should be given up.

4. If you feel very hungry in the evening you may take a little milk and, if you find it heavy, you may have an orange, or some grapes or some such juicy fruit. You should take, as far as possible, long walks in the open air.

5. For purifying the heart and concentration of mind, reading of the above mentioned books and meditation on them, as also repetition of *Ramanama* while not busy with benevolent activities, are very helpful.

6. We should keep on trying and have faith that our efforts shall not go unrewarded.

7. The only means of self-realization is total annihilation of the sixfold passion.

Virtuous deeds will certainly bring you great peace.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI CHIMANLAL BHOGILAL PATEL
MAKANJI'S CHAWL
GHATKOPAR, BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19892

268. LETTER TO DAHYABHAI M. PATEL

ASHRAM,
April 3, 1926

BHAI DAHYABHAI,

. . . .[1] You have searched your heart pretty well. You can devote yourself to the charkha; this can be a great social service. You will attain contentment, I am sure, if you have this faith, and ultimately you will also see the good results. But perhaps you will set a limit to your patience. It is no patience which has an end. May you succeed in your resolve.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DAHYABHAI MANORDAS PATEL
DHOLKA

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19893

269. LETTER TO A SISTER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, Chaitra Vad [*5*][2] [*April 3, 1926*]

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. I share your grief. You may come here with your husband or, if you send your husband, I shall surely talk to him, try to bring him peace. He cannot stay here for long; within a few days I myself have to go to Mussoorie. So if both of you come here or your husband does, it should be immediately. Do not lose your faith and forbearance. Seek happiness in the midst of misery. You should not start from the wrong premise that you can never attain the strength of Savitri[3].

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19416

[1] As in the source

[2] The source has *Chaitra Vad* 6 which, however, was neither a Saturday nor the 3rd of April.

[3] A heroine in ths *Mahabharata* who successfully strove with Death to regain her husband Satyawan

270. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, Chaitra Vad [5][1] [*April 3, 1926*]

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have your letter. Ramdas also showed [his] letter which he will reply himself. It is right that you decided to stay back. Siddaiya is with Kaka; he has to return soon. Swami is therefore writing to him today. He shall get the letter on Monday so that by Tuesday or Wednesday Prabhudas should be here. What we can do about him will be discussed after Prabhudas's arrival. There is nothing seriously wrong with his health. A healthy person has only himself to blame if he is not fit there, and you cannot be included among the unhealthy. It is good that you started taking *neem* juice. One must not have the least mental worry. Helene Haussding, the German lady, wanted to come here. She has got her visa, so it seems she will be here in about a month or so. It looks as if she is Mirabai's double. Arrangements for accommodation at Panchgani are under way. I am not writing separately to Mathuradas.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19417

271. LETTER TO THAKORELAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, Chaitra Vad [5][2] [*April 3, 1926*]

BHAI THAKORELAL,

I have your letter. I find it impossible to guide or advise you through letters. I certainly do not want you to stay here, giving up your studies. If you come here during your vacation, we can talk about this and, may be, you will get some consolation. Owing to certain difficulties we had to withdraw all stocks of silk from the Khadi Bhandars.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19418

[1] & [2] The source has *Chaitra Vad* 6 which, however, was neither a Saturday nor the 3rd of April.

272. THE NATIONAL WEEK

[*April 4, 1926*][1]

Let us not fritter away the precious time at our disposal. The week that will soon close upon us should be a week of deep heart-searching no matter to what faith we may belong. Let everyone ask himself or herself what he or she has done for the land of his or her birth. Swaraj is not to be had merely by making speeches or merely by entering Councils or writing essays on swaraj or even by editing newspapers, though all these things may help and some of them may be considered even necessary; but what is that which everyone can do without much effort and which would increase the wealth of India, which increases the powers of combination and organization and makes us feel akin to one another? The answer unhesitatingly is the spinning-wheel. Hence it is that I have recommended an intensive khaddar propaganda during the week. If therefore you have not already taken up some khaddar work, it is not yet too late. Every little thing helps. There is unsold khaddar everywhere in the chief centres, as for instance, Tamilnadu, Bihar, the Punjab, Gujarat and Bengal, etc. You need not think of any particular province. Wherever you are if you are not wearing khaddar invest in some now and you help to reduce the stock all over India. If you have enough khaddar and do not need to buy any more, but if you have money to spare send your donation to the All-India Spinners' Association and it will be used for khaddar production. If you have any minutes to spare, (and who has not?) give them to the spinning-wheel yourself and send the yarn to the Association. If you have any friends whom you can influence, ask them to do all or any of the things I have just mentioned. Remember that by contributing to khaddar work you associate yourself with the poor people, you assist the cause of swaraj and you take part in perpetuating Deshbandhu's memory.

Young India, 8-4-1926

[1] *Vide* "Partial Fast During the Satyagraha Week", 4-4-1926.

273. ON "BRAHMACHARYA"[1]

I am being inundated with letters on *brahmacharya* and means to its attainment. Let me repeat in different language what I have already said or written on previous occasions. *Brahmacharya* is not mere mechanical celibacy, it means complete control over all the senses and freedom from lust in thought, word and deed. As such it is the royal road to self-realization or attainment of *Brahman*.

The ideal *brahmachari* has not to struggle with sensual desire or desire for procreation; it never troubles him at all. The whole world will be to him one vast family, he will centre all his ambition in relieving the misery of mankind and the desire for procreation will be to him as gall and wormwood. He who has realized the misery of mankind in all its magnitude will never be stirred by passion. He will instinctively know the fountain of strength in him, and he will ever persevere to keep it undefiled. His humble strength will command respect of the world, and he will wield an influence greater than that of the sceptred monarch.

But I am told that this is an impossible ideal, that I do not take count of the natural attraction between man and woman. I refuse to believe that the sensual affinity referred to here can be at all regarded as natural; in that case the deluge would soon be over us. The natural affinity between man and woman is the attraction between brother and sister, mother and son, or father and daughter. It is that natural attraction that sustains the world. I should find it impossible to live, much less carry on my work, if I did not regard the whole of womankind as sisters, daughters or mothers. If I looked at them with lustful eyes, it would be the surest way to perdition.

Procreation is a natural phenomenon indeed, but within specific limits. A transgression of those limits imperils womankind, emasculates the race, induces disease, puts a premium on vice, and makes the world ungodly. A man in the grip of the sensual desire is a man without moorings. If such a one were to guide society, to flood it with his writings and men were to be swayed by them, where would society be? And yet we have the very thing happening today. Supposing a moth whirling round a

[1] The original Gujarati article appeared in *Navajivan*, 4-4-1926. This is a translation by Mahadev Desai.

light were to record the moments of its fleeting joy and we were to imitate it, regarding it as an exemplar, where would we be? No, I must declare with all the power I can command that sensual attraction even between husband and wife is unnatural. Marriage is meant to cleanse the hearts of the couple of sordid passions and take them nearer to God. Lustless love between husband and wife is not impossible. Man is not a brute. He has risen to a higher state after countless births in brute creation. He is born to stand, not to walk on all fours or crawl. Bestiality is as far removed from manhood, as matter from spirit.

In conclusion I shall summarize the means to its attainment.

The first step is the realization of its necessity.

The next is gradual control of the senses. A *brahmachari* must needs control his palate. He must eat to live, and not for enjoyment. He must see only clean things and close his eyes before anything unclean. It is thus a sign of polite breeding to walk with one's eyes towards the ground and not wandering about from object to object. A *brahmachari* will likewise hear nothing obscene or unclean, smell no strong, stimulating, things. The smell of clean earth is far sweeter than the fragrance of artificial scents and essences. Let the aspirant to *brahmacharya* also keep his hands and feet engaged in all the waking hours in healthful activity. Let him also fast occasionally.

The third step is to have clean companions—clean friends and clean books.

The last and not the least is prayer. Let him repeat *Ramanama* with all his heart regularly every day, and ask for divine grace.

None of these things are difficult for an average man or woman. They are simplicity itself. But their very simplicity is embarrassing. Where there is a will, the way is simple enough. Men have not the will for it and hence vainly grope. The fact that the world rests on the observance, more or less, of *brahmacharya* or restraint, means that it is necessary and practicable.

Young India, 29-4-1926

274. SATYAGRAHA WEEK

This week is drawing near. I suggest the best way, according to my lights, of observing it. Satyagraha is a great religious principle, and a universal one. It is to be found in all religions. No religion can live long without it. Satyagraha is the very basis of religion. It can never be employed without a well developed religious consciousness. Countless people now accept that we cannot get swaraj except through satyagraha, and also that we shall never win it with the help of the sword. But only a handful know how it can be employed.

I am firmly of the view that till we have imbibed the spirit of peace exemplified by the spinning-wheel, have placed our relations with the poor on a pure basis and given a place of honour to khadi, we shall not be fit to employ satyagraha.

I, therefore, suggest that those who have any faith in khadi should observe the week by spending it in promoting the spread of khadi. There are several ways to do this.

1. One may spin, and also persuade others to spin, more yarn than at other times.
2. One may wear khadi and persuade others to do so.
3. Wherever stocks of khadi have accumulated, one may go round selling it.
4. One may help, and persuade others to help, in the production of khadi.
5. One may contribute money, according to one's means, for khadi work.

This week should see all the accumulated stocks of khadi cleared.

If the people cannot do even this, what else can they achieve? Khadi work does not come in the way of other activities of public welfare, but supplements them; for the spread of khadi increases national wealth and the benefit of the increase naturally goes to the poor.

I, therefore, suggest that even those who wish to give something as charity should make a gift of khadi. And for those who have not yet given up using foreign cloth, can we hope that during this week they will take the pledge and start wearing khadi, and thereby contribute their share in the *swaraj-yajna*?

Those who have any doubts about khadi may put this question to themselves: "If not through khadi, through what other

means can we win swaraj, and can I myself join in such activity?" I have put this question to myself time and again but have been able to think of no other activity. To those who think that khadi by itself will not bring swaraj, I may say that the question does not arise at all. There can be no swaraj without khadi, and in any case we shall lose nothing through it. Hence, whether we do other work or not, we should certainly help in promoting the spread of khadi.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 4-4-1926

275. PARTIAL FAST DURING THE SATYAGRAHA WEEK

I cannot summon the courage to suggest a partial fast on the 6th and the 13th during the Satyagraha Week. I did not, therefore, touch upon this point when I wrote the *Young India* article on this subject.[1] But those who aspire to swaraj of the spirit, wish to win swaraj through self-purification, will certainly observe partial fasts on these two days, search deep within themselves for their shortcomings and try to remove them.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 4-4-1926

276. HILL TRIBES

Shri Amritlal Thakkar is adding glory to his *sannyasa*. Though he has not donned the ochre robe nor does he profess to be a sannyasi, the work he is doing, being entirely philanthropic, is such as would become a true sannyasi. He has grown old, but takes no rest nor gives any to others round him. When a wildfire of misery is raging, who can rest in peace? Only an idler can. Shri Amritlal has been a friend of the *Antyajas*, and now he is working hard to become a friend of the hill tribes. I hope that everyone will read and ponder over his touching articles[2]. Those who have not yet read the article which appeared last week should read it forthwith. This week's article, too, should be read and thought

[1] *Vide* "The National Week", 4-4-1926.

[2] "Our Ancient Tribes", *Navajivan*, 28-3-1926, and "Proselytization among Hill Tribes", *Navajivan*, 4-4-1926.

over. We shall discuss later what contribution we can make to the programme of work suggested by Shri Amritlal, and how.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-4-1926

277. ALL-INDIA DESHBANDHU MEMORIAL

The following friends from Standerton, Transvaal, have sent their contribution to the fund for the Deshbandhu Memorial through Shri Dayal Naran.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Shri Dayal Naran	10– 0–0	Shri Vallabh Bhula	5–11–3
Shri Devchand Durlabh	2– 2–0	Shri Nagin Narasinh	5– 0–0
Shri Dayaram Bhagwan	0–10–6	Shri Vallabh Bhagawan	0–15–0
Shri Uka Naran	1– 1–0	Shri Parbhu Harakha	1– 1–0
Shri Bhula Hira	3– 3–0	Shri Vashan Dahya	5– 5–0
	16–16–6		17–12–3
		Total	£ 34– 8–9

I hope that others, too, will send their contributions for this cause.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-4-1926

278. MEMORIES OF SAINTS' LIVES

While thinking about how the Satyagraha Week should be celebrated, I came upon the following paragraph in Shri Kaka Kalelkar's article written for students. I reproduce it here for the benefit of readers of *Navajivan*:[1]

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-4-1926

[1] The passage is not translated here. It describes how Eknath, a celebrated saint of Maharashtra, fed *Antyajas* with *shraddha* offerings and once saved a donkey's life by fetching water for it from a river.

279. LETTER TO LAJPAT RAI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 4, 1926

DEAR LALAJI,

I have dealt with the matter I referred to in the enclosed cutting in the pages of *Young India.* Have you studied the question of total prohibition? What is at the back of this criminal apathy in the Punjab?

Yours sincerely,

LALA LAJPAT RAI
LAHORE

From a photostat: S.N. 19420

280. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, April 4, 1926

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Your letter. I sent you a telegram saying I can start on the 22nd. It is not convenient to leave earlier, and it is now cool rather than warm here. This time again I have gained half a pound; i.e., now it has gone up to 104 lbs. I am having plenty of rest. I have gone through your draft letter to Hakim Saheb; it is all right. Herewith I return it. Most probably I shall be accompanied by Pyarelal, Mahadev, Subbaiya, Pyar Ali, Noorbanobehn and their attendant. Pyar Ali intends to rent separate quarters and have his meals cooked for him. If it is not necessary for you at present to stay in Bombay, I would certainly like to have you with me in Mussoorie. If you are there we can certainly attend to some jobs. I do not wish to detain you, however, if your work requires you to go to Bombay or Calcutta. So it is for you to make the final decision after considering your convenience.

It seems you have been quite successful with the Gurukul. Rajagopalachari has enough worries regarding his own ashram, so he will have to return soon. Abbas Tyabji can be persuaded

to undertake touring. Manilal has since returned from Rangoon but it seems he will not be ready to run around so soon. He will now have to give some time for railway workers which means he cannot tour for the present. He will leave this place on Tuesday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2458

281. LETTER TO MILTON NEWBERRY FRANTZ

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 6, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am afraid it is not possible for me to subscribe to the creed you have sent me. The subscriber is made to believe that the highest manifestation of the unseen reality was Jesus Christ. In spite of all my efforts, I have not been able to feel the truth of that statement. I have not been able to move beyond the belief that Jesus was one of the great teachers of mankind. Do you not think that religious unity is to be had not by a mechanical subscription and a common creed but by all respecting the creed of each other? In my opinion difference in creed there must be so long as there are different brains. But what does it matter if all these are. . .[1] upon the common path of love and mutual judgment.

I return the stamp kindly sent by you. It cannot be used in India.

Yours sincerely,

MILTON NEWBERRY FRANTZ, ESQ.
COLLEGEVILLE

From a photostat: S.N. 12461

[1] The source has a blank here.

282. LETTER TO G. K. DEVADHAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 6, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am glad you like my notes in *Young India*[1] about the work of the Seva Sadan. I shall certainly be delighted to visit the institution at Sholapur and make the acquaintance of your workers.

I hope to go away for a month to Mussoorie in the expectation of ridding myself of the weakness still left in me owing to the last attack of malaria.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. K. DEVADHAR
HON. ORGANIZER AND GENERAL SECRETARY
THE POONA SEVA SADAN SOCIETY
789-790, SADASHIV PETH
POONA CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19421

283. LETTER TO GREAVES COTTON AND COMPANY

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 6, 1926

GENTLEMEN,

A correspondent writes[2] to me to say that upon his applying for the post of a stenographer in your office, he was asked to present himself but as soon as he appeared before the Manager, he was told that he could not be employed unless he put away his khaddar clothes. These are the very words quoted by the correspondent: "Our principle is not to allow it in any of our offices and if you want to serve in European firms, this khaddar dress will not do."

MESSRS GREAVES COTTON & COMPANY
FORT
BOMBAY

[1] *Vide* "Mission to the Women of India", 4-3-1926.
[2] *Vide* "For and against Khadi", 22-4-1926.

As I have had chats with the Chairman of the European Association and several European merchants on this very point and as they repudiated the suggestion that they would not allow their employees to wear khaddar dress, I hesitated to believe the information sent to me by my correspondent. I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me know whether there is any truth in the information sent to me by my correspondent.

Yours faithfully,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19422

284. LETTER TO VICE-CHAIRMAN, DISTRICT BOARD, PURI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 6, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I was interested in your letter to the Secretary, All-India Spinners' Association, regarding spinning in the girls' schools of your district. I feel tempted to suggest to you that you can save much of the money voted for spinning if instead of the charkhas you will have *taklis*. The Spinners' Association has now published an authorized *Takli Teacher* prepared by two experts. It gives fairly exhaustive information and hints on *takli*. The experience of the Association is that *takli* spinning is the best and the most efficient for schools because in the schools the boys and girls can naturally give only a short time. The collective output is therefore greater through *takli* spinning than through the spinning-wheel for the simple reason that the *takli* spinning could be done by hundreds of children at the same time without requiring any extra space whatsoever. Moreover, the cost of a *takli* would be [a] few annas as against a few rupees for the spinning-wheel and the *takli* rarely goes out of order. It may be advisable for you to spend a little of the grant made by the Board for sending your teachers to Ahmedabad to watch the *takli* spinning that is being done in the schools here.

Yours sincerely,

THE VICE CHAIRMAN
THE DISTRICT BOARD
PURI

From a microfilm: S.N. 19423

285. *LETTER TO P. S. S. RAMA IYER*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 6, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I am sorry I have not been able to reach your letter earlier. You cannot find satisfaction from the spinning-wheel unless you associate the spinning-wheel with the poor people and believe it to be an instrument for alleviating their economic distress. Is there no satisfaction in helping the poor by labouring for them? There is a Latin proverb which means to labour is to pray, i.e., when you labour for others.

You ask me to whom to pray. The only Being to pray to is the Supreme Deity. We must have faith that He exists, if we are not satisfied with the ocular demonstration of the awe-inspiring phenomenon that goes on about us the whole of the 24 hours. There is undoubtedly an intelligence beyond it, that is God. But if the phenomenon is not convincing we must have faith based upon the experience of all the greatest teachers of mankind. It is that intelligence which hears our prayers and answers. Contemplate on that All-pervading essence when you are at the spinning-wheel and then tell me whether it does not give you satisfaction.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. S. S. RAMA IYER
S. I. RY. AGENCY
COCHIN

From a microfilm: S.N. 19424

286. LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 6, 1926

DEAR RAJENDRA BABU,

Please go through the portion marked about untouchability in the enclosed letter[1] and let me know what the truth is.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1: That of Sjt. Rakhal Chandra Maity, Sadakat Ashram, Dighaghat P.O., Patna

BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD
MURAD PUR
PATNA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19425

287. LETTER TO RAKHAL CHANDRA MAITY

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 6, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. What you say about the classification as to dining at the Sadakat Ashram surprises me. I am sending your letter to Sjt. Rajendra Babu asking him to reply to it.

I agree with you that the prayer should be short, intelligible and that it should proceed from the heart. It should be addressed to the Supreme God and in a college or any such institution, it should be a prayer common to all.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. RAKHAL CHANDRA MAITY
SADAKAT ASHRAM
DIGHAGHAT P.O.
PATNA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19426

[1] Enclosure not in the source

288. LETTER TO V. L. PHADKE

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, April 6, 1926

BHAI MURABBI MAMA,

I have your letter. You can come over if you can do so without any difficulty. By the 10th Nanabhai too will return from Singhagarh. Bring with you the letter I wrote on what was talked over with Nanabhai. Swami is here. I shall ask him about Chhagan when I see him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3813

289. LETTER TO LALLU MORAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, April 6, 1926

BHAI LALLU MORAR,

I have your letter. I am sorry to learn about your disunity. If only one of you will humble himself, follow the path of truth and engage in the service of others, the rest will readily gather round him. At the moment we are in no position to send anyone. However, if you wish to consult me please do so. Do you subscribe to *Navajivan*? If not, it is desirable that you become a subscriber. The subscription is sh. 10 a year.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19427

290. LETTER TO KHANDERIA

ASHRAM,
April 6, 1926

BHAI KHANDERIA,

. . .[1] Inmates of the Ashram or other persons eating at odd places should not take offence if you serve them in a separate row. And even if they take offence I do not think you are wrong in serving them apart. We should treat the *Antyajas* irrespective of their food habits just as we treat other communities, without inquiring what they eat or drink.

ANTYAJASHALA
LAKHTAR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19896

291. LETTER TO G. G. ROY

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 7, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The interesting cutting you have sent me appears to me to be perfectly hysterical. There were at that time 33 vegetarian restaurants. I do not know how many there [are] at the present moment. And so far as I am aware, people used to take the very dishes the writer describes with great relish and profit to themselves. But then these are all matters of the mind. The sausages he describes with gusto create in me a nausea.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. G. ROY
MOTIMAHAL
CAWNPORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 19432

[1] As in the source

292. A LETTER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 7, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your welcome letter. I am at the Ashram in Sabarmati up to the 21st instant. Generally I am always available at 4 p.m. except on Mondays but I could give you an appointment for any other hour on those days. After 22nd, I shall be available in Mussoorie. Do please therefore make your choice.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19433

293. LETTER TO AMRITLAL NANAVATI AND OTHERS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, April 7, 1926

BHAISHRI AMRITLAL AND OTHERS,

I have your letter. I never take up an activity of my own accord, nor do I think it proper to concern myself with any odd activity. Regarding the Palitana affair I know the Sangh leaders are making some move; how can I interfere with it? In my opinion if you too have anything to say you had better say it through the leaders. This is not a movement wherein any *shravak* may start on a satyagraha on his own. Even if you think it has reached the stage for satyagraha, you should start it through the Sangh. Some time back some people had come to consult me about it. I explained all this to them.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 10871

294. LETTER TO SOMNATH PANCHAL

ASHRAM,
April 7, 1926

BHAI SOMNATH,

Your letter. I certainly think it right to render financial assistance to persons whose predicament is like that of the old persons you describe. It is society's duty to support invalids. It is, I think, irreligious to support the able-bodied without getting some work from them.

If abstention is not possible under the same roof, it is necessary to live separately. It is certainly not your duty to stay in the same house even if abstention is not possible.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 10872

295. LETTER TO PRANJIVAN K. DESAI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 7, 1926

BHAISHRI PRANJIVAN,

A couple who, as you say, have given themselves up to indulgence do not observe the conjugal law. I have no hesitation in saying that they are worse than beasts. A girl of twelve or thirteen is absolutely unsuited to lead a conjugal life. It is a grievous sin to cohabit with her. I cannot imagine what you have written regarding a woman in menses. I cannot accept that the husband has a duty to sleep with her after the expiry of four days. I should think the husband is forbidden to touch her as long as the discharge continues. After the discharge stops, I see nothing wrong in their coming together if both of them desire progeny.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12184

296. *LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 7, 1926

CHI. MANILAL,

I got the two letters sent direct by you. I got your contribution towards the Deshbandhu Memorial after I had written to you. I am surprised that you did not get a receipt. I hope to collect the receipt and post it along with this. I would then know the amount received.

Mr. Andrews should have come here by now. However, I have no telegram about his departure. There is no limit to the strain he is putting himself to. I have sent you another letter through Ramdas also. I expect a reply to it. Send a telegram if possible. Ask Shanti to write to me. I have written him a letter to which he has not replied. Is there no means of curing his asthma? What happened to the employees' demand for higher pay? Ramdas went recently to Amreli after a few days' stay here. Devdas is at Deolali looking after Mathuradas. But he is himself not quite well. There is no cause for anxiety.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19428

297. *LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, April 7, 1926

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. In his letter Devdas particularly asks for Pyarelal or Surendra. Therefore, I am sending Pyarelal today. Personally, however, I would suggest that Devdas should come over here after Rajagopalachari goes there and Pyarelal should for the present stay with you. You alone can say whether or not you find Pyarelal agreeable. A letter has been sent to Sir Prabhashanker regarding Panchagani; A reply is expected in a day or two.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19429

298. LETTER TO MANEKLAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, April 7, 1926

CHI. MANEKLAL,

Herewith Anandlal's reply to my letter regarding Vrajlal's share of the rent of the house at Rajkot.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19430

299. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, April 7, 1926

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have your letter. Since you had such an illness, how well it would have been if you had informed me of it immediately. There was no need to hide it from me. I have often found that by this sort of false kindness people have been unkind to me. Jaundice can be cured very easily. For this there is no remedy like fasting. It soon subsides with fasting and flushing by drinking plenty of water, and the appetite is restored. I have never believed in the theory that a patient grows weaker by withstanding hunger or by fasting. If you must take buttermilk, all butter should be removed from it. Curds cannot be taken in any case. Rice is an unnecessary burden. I remember in the year 1896 I had a severe attack of jaundice. At that time I had trust in the prescriptions only of Manishankar Vaid. He had administered to me some mixture with sodium. . . .[1] the main treatment was, however, a fast. For about ten days I was allowed to have neither milk, nor buttermilk nor rice. These ten days I was allowed only some fresh fruits, i.e., oranges, grapes and sugarcane. No sugar. I did not have to lie down for a single day, and all the while I went about my business. At that time I used to move about quite a lot for the South African cause. I suggest you should come over here; you can soon recover with treatment. You may stay as long as Rajagopalachari is there. You may spend

[1] The source has a blank here.

a day or two in talking to Pyarelal and introducing him to the job. I did not tell Ba about this. But she came to know about it and now asks to send for you immediately. It seems Rajagopalachari has spoken to her to the same effect. Let me know your decision immediately.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19431

300. LETTER TO RUSTOMJI D. BATLIWALA

ASHRAM,
April 7, 1926

BHAISHRI RUSTOMJI,

Your letter. If your report is correct, you had a right to mention any faults you found there. Smoking at the club cannot be regarded a personal matter. From what you say I see no reason to apologize.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI RUSTOMJI D. BATLIWALA
HILL ROAD
BANDRA, BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19897

301. LETTER TO BECHAR BHANJI

April 7, 1926

BHAISHRI BECHAR BHANJI,

I have your letter. I do not think I have any previous letters. I am surprised that you did not get a reply. Herewith my answer to the questions you have raised in your latest letter.

The examples of Harishchandra and Shrigalsha Sheth are meant to emphasize that for preserving our dharma we should be prepared to sacrifice the dearest of our belongings. We must never let dharma perish. We are not obliged to believe in the historicity of either story; they are, however, quite plausible. The entire story should be read only in the context of the maxim that passion and godliness do not go together. We should reject

a legend which does not fit into our code of conduct. We cannot compromise morality merely to support a legend.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19898

302. LETTER TO A STUDENT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, April 7, 1926

BHAI . . . [1],

I have your letter from which I learn that you have not at all lived with your wife. You were never intimate with her and yet, you are afraid, she is pregnant. And this worries you. But I see no cause for worry. If your wife is pregnant, you can put her aside not in hatred but with pity. She may, if she can, live with the man with whom she misbehaved and if that man is already married she may stay with her parents. To them you should convey the news gently but firmly.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 10853-A

303. OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED

You say that swaraj can only come to us as the result of a bloody battle in the bad old way or through spinning away for all we are worth in our village homes in the good new way of the Mahatma. This is only another instance of hypnosis by a catchword. What steps have been taken, by you or the others concerned, beyond mere repetition of the doctrine, to convince people that this spinning away (1) is possible, (2) is desirable, (3) will be effective? I have yet to see a plain, intelligible, fairly well-reasoned-out statement, answering doubts and questions, as to (1) whether it is possible, in view of the rent and revenue laws, to retain and detain the needed cotton within the country, and in the hands of the right persons; (2) whether and how far it is desirable to do so, in view of the effects of such a step, upon the other industries which have grown up; (3) whether it will be effectual, and if so directly requiring other steps, and, if so, what steps, to bring about swaraj (whatever that might mean!). I have repeatedly tried to get leading exponents of the cult to thrash out

[1] Name dropped

> the thing, pro and con, in public print, or even private discussion, but have failed so far. Only once I had an opportunity of questioning the fountain-head of the doctrine himself, viz., Mahatmaji, and the opportunity was limited to putting only the question as to the possibility. He contented himself with simply saying, "Yes, it is possible." There were many other persons, and more important matters, to deal with; so my doubts and fears remained unallayed.

The preceding quotation is from an informing letter by Babu Bhagwandas to Maulana Mahomed Ali and published by him in the *Comrade*. Though it is to be found in an old issue (18th December last), I regret to say I saw it only during the current week. I may say at the outset that I do not remember the conversation referred to by Babu Bhagwandas. For me nothing in the political world is more important than the spinning-wheel. I can recall many occasions when I have postponed other matters to make room for a discussion on the spinning-wheel as central part of our economics or politics. But whatever fate overtook Babu Bhagwandas's question put to me when I had the privilege of being his guest, the root questions raised by him must be answered. That the spinning-wheel is possible is being daily demonstrated with increasing force. Amid the many seeming impossibilities, e.g., Hindu-Muslim unity, the spinning-wheel alone is being demonstrated as a possibility, as witness the growing organizations in Tamilnad, Andhra, Karnatak, the Punjab, Bihar and Bengal, etc. If the organizations are not more numerous, it is because the workers are too few. There is no inherent impossibility in the wheel. It has been worked before with the greatest success. There are millions who can work it, who have the required leisure for it and who are in need of a cottage occupation.

That it is desirable may be proved from the mere fact that it is the best adapted for this vast country of seven hundred thousand villages.

No one can say with certainty whether it will be effective. If it is permissible to infer from the experience being gained in the several provinces, it can be safely asserted that it is highly probable that it will be effective. It can even be boldly asserted that no other industry has as yet been proved to be as effective as the spinning-wheel for the purpose intended.

Babu Bhagwandas mentions the adverse effect of rent and revenue laws. He thereby draws attention to the difficulty, not the impossibility, of revival of the one national industry that gave the peasantry its staying power one century ago. Revenue

and rent laws are not immutable. In so far as they interfere with the growth of the spinning industry, they must be altered. "But" it will be said, "they cannot be altered without swaraj". The answer is that swaraj cannot be obtained without organizing spinning in spite of the laws. For the fight for swaraj means fighting difficulties however great they may be. Violence is the accepted, though barbarous, method of fighting. Organizing the spinning-wheel is the moral method of fighting for swaraj. Organizing the spinning-wheel is the easiest and the cheapest method of peacefully organizing the masses. Surely, if cotton can be exported thousands of miles away, there spun, brought back in the shape of yarn for sale to the very exporters, there should be no difficulty about shifting it, in India itself, a few miles away from the seat of its cultivation. There is no difficulty about a non-rice-growing province importing rice from the rice-growing province. Why should there be any in so handling cotton? The process is going on today. Bihar has to import cotton from Wardha or Cawnpore.

But, says Babu Bhagwandas, it may be undesirable "in view of the effects of such a step upon the other industries which have grown up". What other industries? And if they are adversely affected, should that interfere with the prosecution of an industry which is as necessary to the national life as either lung is to the body? Should we be afraid to promote total prohibition because it must interfere with the established distilleries? Or must a reformer be deterred from advocating abstention from the opium habit for fear of harming the opium growers? Babu Bhagwandas cited the Champaran ryot who could not keep enough food grains for sustenance. That was because he had not enough for all his wants. If he had spun or if the taxation was light, he could have kept enough for his wants. He got partial relief by the removal of the burden of growing indigo compulsorily. He could still further better his condition if he would utilize his idle hours (he has many) by spinning unless he found a more profitable industry. But he will not spin, unless the educated class set the fashion and assure him that the wheel is not to be a nine days' wonder.

Babu Bhagwandas however exclaims:

> If to spin away is so easily possible, so desirable, so effective, there must after all be some reason why the three-hundred millions do not take to it at once, why the Congress membership has dwindled down to nine thousand odd.

Surely he knows many things "possible, desirable, and effective," not happening for want of will or effort. Universal education

is "possible, desirable and effective" but people do not resort to it readily. And, it will require the energy of an army of trained workers to instil into the minds of the people the necessity of taking the trouble to be educated. Sanitary precautions are "possible, desirable and effective". But why do the villagers not take to them as soon as they are brought to their notice? The answer seems to be simple. Progress is slow. It is lame. It requires effort, organization, time and expense in exact proportion to its importance. The greatest stumbling block in the way of the more rapid progress of spinning, great as it is, is the disinclination or the inability of the cultured classes, the natural leaders of the people, to recognize the supreme place the spinning-wheel has in any scheme of national regeneration. The very simplicity of it seems to bewilder them.

Young India, 8-4-1926

304. NEED FOR CHARTS

A correspondent writes to say that instead of giving figures, in order to impress facts on the minds of the readers, charts should be given showing fluctuations in the production and sale of khadi. He rejects the forebodings of people who say that khadi is dying out but says that though they can be refuted by those who have read the annual report of the All-India Spinners' Association, but few have the patience to go through it. He says:

> People think that the more the khadi-cap-wearers, the greater the production and sale of khaddar. . . .[1]

The remarks of the correspondent are very true. Arrangements are being made to prepare a chart such as the correspondent suggests. Meanwhile the figures given this week in C. R.'s note on Tamilnadu are eloquent enough to demonstrate the progress of khadi.

Young India, 8-4-1926

[1] The rest of the letter is not reproduced here.

305. *DOES INDIA WANT PROHIBITION?*

Much has been made by the opponents of total prohibition in India of the speech of Mr. King, Financial Commissioner in the Punjab, who was reported to have said that the Local Option Act which was passed over a year ago in the Punjab has been a perfect failure. The Commissioner quotes in support of his statement the following facts:

That out of nearly 200 municipalities, district boards, etc., only 19 have asked to be empowered under the Act. Of the 19, only six took further steps. And in the six the referendum that was held had precious little support. At Rawalpindi for instance out of 7,000 voters, only six registered their votes. At Ludhiana out of 12,500 voters at the first referendum not one turned up. A second date was fixed at which only four turned up. Of the other four only in one small town, that of Tohana, out of 1,052 voters, 802 voted for total prohibition.

Mr. King argued, as he would be entitled to argue if he was a stranger to India and Indian conditions, that there was no demand for total prohibition in the Punjab. Unfortunately for India the conditions are that people are apathetic even about things that concern them as a society. The methods adopted for referendum are new to them. Probably, the voters knew nothing of the fact that there was a referendum being taken about total prohibition. Mr. King must have known the fact which everyone knows who knows anything of India that the vast majority of the people of India do not drink and that drinking intoxicants is contrary to Islam and Hinduism. The inference therefore to be drawn from the so-called failure referred to by Mr. King is not that the Punjab is against total prohibition but that the Punjabis being themselves as a class teetotallers do not bother their heads about those who are ruining themselves through the drink curse. He is also entitled to draw the inference that the Municipal commissioners and the members of the local boards have been criminally negligent of their duties to the voters in this matter of great social importance. But to argue from the facts cited that Punjab is opposed to total prohibition is to throw dust in the eyes of strangers or ignorant people. That unfortunately is the way of the officials. Instead of looking at things impartially or from the popular standpoint, they constitute themselves pleaders for what the Government stands or for methods which the Gov-

ernment may wish to defend at any cost. It is a well-known fact that the Hindus are against the slaughter of the cow and her progeny. Supposing there was a referendum taken precisely in the manner in which it was taken in the Punjab regarding drink and the millions of Hindus fail to register their vote, will anyone who knows Indian conditions argue therefrom, for one moment, that Hindus want slaughter houses where the sacred cow is done to death? The fact is that there is not that consciousness created amongst the people that is impatient of social wrongs. It is no doubt a deplorable thing. It is being gradually mended. But it is a wicked thing to suppress facts which would warrant an inference totally different from the one that may, in the absence of those facts, be drawn from another set of facts. As the *Manchester Guardian* has mildly put it, the case against total prohibition in India is much weaker than the case against it in America or England where respectable people see nothing wrong or harmful in moderate drinking.

Young India, 8-4-1926

306. MESSAGE TO MYSORE LAWYERS' CONFERENCE, TUMKUR[1]

ASHRAM, SABARMATI
*April 8, 192*6

PRESIDENT
RECEPTION COMMITTEE
FOURTH MYSORE LAWYERS' CONFERENCE
TUMKUR

(I) HOPE (THE) LAWYERS IN CONFERENCE WILL APPRECIATE (THE) MESSAGE OF (THE) SPINNING-WHEEL AND ADOPT KHADDAR AND MAKE SOME RETURN TO THE POOR BY DEVOTING SOME TIME RELIGIOUSLY TO SPINNING AND PAY A PORTION OF THEIR INCOME TO (THE) DESHBANDHU MEMORIAL FUND WHOSE OBJECT IS UNIVERSALIZATION OF KHADDAR.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 19435

[1] This message is typed on a telegraphic form and the words in brackets were encircled for deletion.

307. LETTER TO G. K. DEVADHAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 8, 1926

MY DEAR DEVADHAR,

I have your letter. Manorama talked to me about your letter last night and I told her that she was not only free to go but that Seva Sadan being an institution specially designed for women would probably more suit her requirements than the Ashram. She told me she would make her final decision in a day or two and let me know. I shall hand your letter to her and talk to her again. I knew that she was before, at the Seva Sadan. I was not really prepared to take her in if only because the Ashram is at present overcrowded and it is so difficult to look after young girls. But as she was insistent, I put her with Mrs. Gandhi. Her ambition to remain a maiden and lead a life of service attracted me.

You shall hear from me again after I have had a chat with her.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19434

308. FOREWORD

ASHRAM, SABARMATI
April 8, 1926

Hemendra Babu has asked me to write a foreword to his *Life of Deshabandhu*. Unfortunately I do not know Bengali. I had hoped to be able to have portions read to me but I have not been able to find the time to do so. Hemendra Babu was one of the devotees of Deshbandhu. I know his love and veneration for the departed leader. I have therefore no doubt that whatever he has said about Deshbandhu will be readable. Time cannot efface the memory of a man so great and good as Deshbandhu. It can only make it more hallowed. At this time of trial for the nation there is no Indian who does not feel the void created by his death. May Hemendra Babu's pages help us to realize our duty to the country for which Deshbandhu lived and died.

From a photostat: S.N. 19436

309. LETTER TO NAGJIBHAI

ASHRAM,
April 8, 1926

BHAI NAGJIBHAI,

I have your letter. If you regard Vishwamitra, Vasishtha and others as historical figures, it will be difficult to answer your questions. If you can look upon the *Ramayana* as a religious work and the legends of Vishwamitra, Parashurama and others as allegorical, you will be able yourself to understand their significance.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19899

310. LETTER TO HARNARAYAN

[On or After *April 8, 1926*][1]

Your letter. If the friend you refer to really means to be saved, he must leave his present position, and should look for some job which will involve far less, if any, contact with women. Again his work should be such as would keep him physically occupied for the whole day. And privacy is of course out of the question.

In the case of the other friend, what the couple need is courage. Whenever they are referred to as barren, they should take it for a compliment. He who has a vow to observe and wants to know the *Brahman* does not care what the world says.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12095

[1] This is written on a sheet from the addressee's letter dated *Adhik Chaitra Vad* 11, 82, to which this is the reply.

311. LETTER TO KATHERINE MAYO

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 9, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I hope you received my previous letter[1] in reply to your enquiry about the sources of my information on poverty of India.

I have now your second letter[2] enclosing copy of your notes.[3] I have tried to fill in the gaps left by you. I have been obliged to do the same somewhat hurriedly but I hope it will answer the purpose.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 12462

312. LETTER TO SARAT CHANDRA BOSE[4]

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 9, 1926

DEAR SARAT BABU,

Manilal Kothari has given your message. I wish I could send you something stirring, something decisive and rapid in reply but I have no such thing in the present state of the country. Meetings and resolutions of protests in the Councils have been overdone. We must do something tangible so that we can feel our power. I can think of nothing else therefore but boycott of foreign cloth which in its turn is impossible without khaddar and therefore for the ills including these wretched imprisonments, I have nothing but the charkha. But how can I convince the people that it is a sovereign remedy. My faith however in it remains undiminished. Day by day it increases. And therefore during the National Week we have some spinning-wheels going on the whole of the week, night and day at the Ashram. We are doing it with the implicit faith that some day through it will rise a power that will enable us to realize our cherished desire.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Katherine Mayo", 26-3-1926.

[2] Dated 24-3-1926

[3] *Vide* "Interview to Katherine Mayo", 17-3-1926.

[4] This was reproduced in *Young India*, 22-4-1926.

I know that there is an alternative to the charkha and that is rowdyism. But I am useless at it and what is more, I have no faith in it. And as a practical man I know that our rowdyism is nothing compared to the rowdyism of the Government. I have therefore burnt my boats and staked my all on the charkha. I invite all who are troubled by this knowledge of the many woes of the nation to join me in the effort. Believe me it requires all the skill, all the discipline, all the organizing power that we can summon to its aid.

I hope the *Forward* and the Memorial Hospital are doing well.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SARAT BOSE
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19437

313. LETTER TO V. N. S. CHARY

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 9, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I too have seen many a lizard going for cockroaches and have watched cockroaches going for lesser forms but I have not felt called upon to prevent the operation of the law of the larger living on the smaller. I do not claim to penetrate into the awful mystery but from watching these very operations, I learn that the law of the beast is not the law of the Man; that Man has by painful striving to surmount and survive the animal in him and from the tragedy of the *himsa* which is being acted around him he has to learn the supreme lesson of ahimsa for himself. Man must, therefore, if he is to realize his dignity and his own mission, cease to take part in the destruction and refuse to prey upon his weaker fellow creatures. He can only keep that as an ideal for himself and endeavour day after day to reach it. Complete success is possible only when he has attained *moksha*, a state in which the spirit becomes and remains independent of physical existence.

Yours sincerely,

SH. V. N. S. CHARY
7, HIGH ROAD
EGMORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 19438

314. LETTER TO S. GOVINDASWAMI IYER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 10, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I should be sorry if the information you give me is found to be correct. I do not know the addresses of the gentlemen whose names you have given me, namely Messrs K. S. Nambudripad and Velu Pillay, if the latter also was guilty of making speeches like the one attributed to Mr. Nambudripad. If you will give me their addresses, I shall certainly enquire.

I note what you say about your name not being disclosed.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. GOVINDASWAMI IYER, B.A.B.L.
GOPI VILAS
PULIMUD
TRIVANDRUM

From a microfilm: S.N. 19439

315. LETTER TO HAKIM AJMAL KHAN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 10, 1926

DEAR HAKIMJI SAHEB,

I had your letter. I must not delay replying to it for the pleasure of enabling me to write in Urdu. Your letter makes painful reading. You are despondent. But you cannot afford to be. You and I want to see Hindus and Mussalmans shed the insanity and live together in peace and friendship. We must attend also the ceremony of establishing swaraj.

You would rejoice to think that I shall see you so often in Mussoorie. Will you not precede me and give yourself rest now. I wish I could compel you to take a vow not to leave Mussoorie for two months, even to go to Rangpur.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 19440

316. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 10, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

There is a letter from Mr. Chatterjee enclosing a cutting from *Welfare*. Do please answer the criticism in the Bengal Press and let me have a copy of your reply so as to enable me to make use of it for the columns of *Young India*. When you send me copy of your reply, please return the cuttings.

Yours sincerely,

Enc. 1 (to be returned)

From a microfilm: S.N. 19441

317. LETTER TO J. CHATTERJEE

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 10, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I have sent your letter and the cutting to Satis Babu, Dr. Ray's expert who is in charge of the relief depot. I know the working of the depot myself and I may inform you that there is no difficulty about answering the criticism even from the figures used in the *Welfare*. But I agree that it would be more satisfactory to have an official refutation from those who are working the depot.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. J. CHATTERJEE
1, JOHNSTONGANJ
ALLAHABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 19442

318. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 10, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter about Niranjan Babu. My letter[1] was not written to cast any reflection upon you at all. It was based purely on the last month's figures that were put before me. If I had the time to confer with Shankerlal and to look into all the papers, I would have found all the information that you say exists in the papers sent by you. But you know the difficult position I find myself in at present. I have no time for anything over and above every day's routine work and so I hastily dictated the letter asking for the information from Niranjan Babu as he could supply the information without having to refer to many papers. And I wrote to you because Niranjan Babu was at that time with you and thought would be with you till you received the letter or if he had gone you will forward the letter to him. I know nothing about how much you were to look after and how much you were not to look after. I think you got all the packets.

Niranjan Babu has now telegraphed that he is sending me all the information. I shall therefore wait for his letter. Meanwhile do I understand that if we pay Utkal Rs. 250 per month up to September, it will be self-supporting—that is the meaning I gather from your letter. And if such is the meaning, it is simple and Utkal will certainly have done wonderfully well.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19443

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", 29-3-1926.

321. A RAY OF HOPE

Shri Dahyabhai writes from Dholka:[1]

This example is worthy of notice. Those who, though not poor, take up spinning and other connected work either through sympathy or patriotism deserve to be complimented on their spirit. I very much hope that Shri Dahyabhai will keep up his faith and continue his efforts for the progress of the spinning-wheel, and that the people of Rampar will go on doing the work which they have started and will not give any grounds to others to say of them, "Brave in the beginning, faint-hearted by and by." I find it necessary to utter this caution because, in the very letter in which Dahyabhai has described the awakening in Rampar, he also writes:

> A friend had, of his own free will, taken the pledge of spinning regularly. He knows spinning, and has time for it too, but he has given it up through sheer lethargy.

We come across such instances all over the country. It is a matter for no little pain that people do not pause and reflect before taking a pledge and then fail to keep it. Such weaknesses of ours have sapped the foundations of dharma and reduced the country to a state of slavery.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-4-1926

322. GURUKUL AND KHADI

Shri Jamnalalji writes from Hardwar:[2]

His list[3] contains forty names. I need not give all the names here, but an analysis of the list will be found interesting. The first name in it is that of the Principal of the Gurukul; there are five teachers, seven fresh graduates, holding the degrees of *Snataka* or *Vedalankar* or *Vidyalankar*. There are five students from

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had described how the farmers of Rampar had taken up khadi work and were doing it with enthusiasm.

[2] The extract is not translated here. The correspondent had described the keen interest which members of the Gurukul were taking in khadi activities.

[3] Of new members of the Spinners' Association enrolled by him

the fourteenth grade, seven from the thirteenth, four from the twelfth and five from the eleventh. The list contains the names of two women members of the Gurukul and three other women from Delhi—Shrimati Vidyavati Sethi (B.A.), Principal, Kanya Gurukul, and two teachers, Shrimati Sitadevi and Shrimati Chandravati.

The Khadi Inspector in the Punjab writes:[1]

I compliment these bodies.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-4-1926

323. "NIRAMISHAHAR" MEANS "ANNAHAR"

I have invited readers of *Navajivan* to suggest a simpler word for *niramishahar*[2]. Some readers do not like this word. In its place, they suggest *nirmansahar* or *amansahar*. But neither word seems acceptable. People who have never eaten meat in their lives do not like to hear the word *mans*[3]. To such persons, an unfamiliar word would be more acceptable. As people shrink from uttering the very name of a thing which repels them, so they shrink from the word *mans* and, therefore, use the word *paramati*[4] instead. The phrase *zade javun*[5] sounds indecent, whereas *jungle javun*[6] sounds a little less offensive. Recently, the word *shauch*[7] has come into use in place of either. Following this principle, I have been using the word *niramishahar*. A friend has suggested *vanaspatyahar*[8] in preference to it. But this word does not seem simpler than the other one. Trying to find an alternative expression, I felt that *annahar*[9] would serve the purpose all right. This word does not cover milk. Strictly speaking, it does not cover even fruits. From another point of view, however, food includes milk and fruits. In the last resort, if we define

[1] The extract is not translated here. The correspondent had reported that the Gurukul in Multan Cantonment and a Destitutes' Home in another place run by the Arya Samaj had started buying khadi for all their needs.

[2] Non-meat diet

[3] Meat

[4] Literally, another's dust or clay; euphemistically, meat

[5] To go for evacuation of bowels

[6] To go behind a bush

[7] Washing

[8] A diet of herbs

[9] A diet of boiled cereals; Gandhiji suggested that this word should be made to signify vegetarian diet; another word, *shakahar*, has, however, gained wider currency.

the meaning which we attach to a word and, after a little use, can get that meaning accepted by others, we become entitled to use the word in the sense we have attached to it. Exercising that right, *Navajivan* will henceforth use the word *annahar* in place of *niramishahar* and to convey the meaning that that word does.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 11-4-1926

324. MISUNDERSTANDING

I observe that the misunderstanding occasioned by my visit to Kutch[1] still persists, and that Shri Manasingh Kachrabhai and Shri Manilal Kothari are being blamed. I, therefore, wish to state once again that, far from regretting my tour of Kutch, I look upon it as one of the precious experiences of my life. The Reception Committee did not commit and should not be blamed for the slightest fault of omission. I found in Kutch the same love and enjoyed the same comforts which I have found and enjoyed in other places. The Reception Committee had spared no pains to look after my convenience so that I could rest. They left nothing undone so that I might get as much rest as possible. It was not Shri Manasingh who had originally extended the invitation to me. I also know that Shri Manilal was obliged at a later stage to join the others. In going to Kutch, I did nothing but follow my own nature. It was in my soul that I suffered during the tour. How does the Reception Committee deserve to be blamed if superstitions have struck deep roots among the people? The hypocrisy and insincerity which I found in some villages were not a new experience to me. It is contrary to my nature to run away from a place where I find fanaticism among the Hindus. I regard it as my dharma to try to win over even fanatics with love. I have, therefore, no other feeling but that of satisfaction for my Kutch tour. I do not regard it as a failure at all. I came across selfless workers in Kutch as in other parts of the country. It was also a great pleasure to me to visit the places of their activities. It cannot be a ground of complaint that the contributions did not come up to my expectations. I have received in the past generous help from residents of Kutch for my activities. Why should one feel disappointed if one's expectations are occasionally not fulfilled? My only disappointment is at the thought that

[1] In 1925; *vide* Vol. XXVIII, pp. 412-8 and 469-72.

Hindus still regard the sin of untouchability as a virtuous practice. It was not a part of the work of the Reception Committee to try to soften the hard hearts of the people. It was my work. Workers invite me to their respective places for this purpose. If people's hearts have not softened, I must quarrel with myself. I am the cause of my disappointment on that score. But I am not such a simpleton that I would quarrel with myself. I quarrel with God. Why did he create me weak or deny power to my words so that I do not always succeed in softening people's hearts? Whom should I blame if Hindus do not give up the practice of untouchability, if Hindus and Muslims quarrel with each other and if all the Indians do not wear khadi? Hinduism shows only one remedy for this.

> Every time the gods were in distress, they called
> on the Dweller in the hearts of all;
> And He who is the support of the Earth, the
> Lord of Narasinh, rescued them from danger.

Vishwamitra performed *tapascharya*[1] so that he might become a *brahmarshi*[2], and Parvati in order to win Siva as husband. Likewise, those who wish to serve their country or their dharma should do *tapascharya* for the purposes and not point to the weaknesses of the people. Not only was I not disappointed by my visit to Kutch but, as I promised at the time of leaving it, if the workers there continue their work and desire my presence, and if I can find the time, I will certainly go there again, will visit the areas which, not being easily accessible, were left out this time and call for an account from the residents of the places which I visited.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 11-4-1926

[1] Penance
[2] A *rishi* attaining *Brahman*

325. LETTER TO S. NAGASUNDARAM[1]

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I must not deal with the matter referred to by you in the pages of *Young India.* I said all that had to be said on the incident in 1921. I am never in an uncompromising mood. Viceroy never made a single offer that could be accepted by any self-respecting person. When I advised the Ali Brothers to sign that famous document called apology[2], I went nearest the edge of weakness. But I do not regret it. That 'apology' did the Brothers and the nation much good. When their trial came

[1] This was Gandhiji's reply to the addressee who had written to him about an article "The Change of Viceroys" in the *Indian Social Reformer* of April 3, which had stated: "Lord Reading hands over charge of the Viceroyalty to Lord Irwin today. The political situation today is quite calm, whereas, when Lord Reading arrived in the country, it was highly charged with distrubance. The Non-co-operation movement was moving rapidly towards its zenith. Lord Reading, for several months after assuming charge of his high office, tried to come to an understanding with Mahatma Gandhi, but the latter was in an uncompromising mood. The prosecution of the Ali Brothers made conciliation impossible. The Prince of Wales was due to visit the country in a few months and the Viceroy strained every nerve to reach at least a temporary settlement in order to allow His Royal Highness' visit to pass off quietly. He offered a Round Table Conference to discuss the next step in political advance and, although the late Mr. C. R. Das, who was undergoing imprisonment for breach of the notification declaring the Congress volunteers to be unlawful body, counselled acceptance of the offer, Mr. Gandhi refused and a great opportunity was lost. This seems to have convinced Lord Reading that the method of conciliation was not likely to succeed, and soon after the Prince left these shores, the Mahatma himself was prosecuted and sent to jail."

[2] *Vide* Vol. XX, pp. 93-4.

it was an issue that was as honourable to them as it was dishonourable for the Government.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. NAGASUNDARAM
FIRST FLOOR
LAKSHMINIVAS BUILDING
NEAR KING'S CIRCLE
MATUNGA, BOMBAY

From a microfilm : S.N. 19444

326. LETTER TO RICHARD B. GREGG

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 11, 1926

MY DEAR GOVIND,

How funny I received your letter just after I had dictated my notes[1] on your article on Machinery. Do not bother about the German book. You may return it. I shall get it translated if need be by someone else. The work you mention is far more important than translating those letters in the midst of difficulties that surround you.

I am glad you are doing gardening and cooking your own meals. When you get a little bit of leisure do give me an idea of the school there. The attendance, capacity of the boys, subjects being taught, etc., and tell me what we should adopt from that school.

I leave for Mussoorie on the 22nd instant. Mira is doing wonderfully well. Have you heard that during the Satyagraha Week there are five wheels going all day and night. It is a stirring sight. The daily output has at least quintupled I think. We shall have the accurate figures next week. Hence during the week Kanti did 4444 turns (equals 5925 yards) that means at least 14 hours work for the boy.

Yours,

RICHARD B. GREGG, ESQ.

From a photostat : S.N. 19445

[1] *Vide* "Notes", 15-4-1926.

327. LETTER TO SHAUKAT ALI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 11, 1926

MY DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER,

Our thoughts have certainly crossed one another. I was thinking of dictating a letter to you taking you to task for such a small quantity of so indifferently spun yarn. But by anticipating my letter, you have deprived my rebuke of its sharpness.

I heard about Mahomad Ali's difficulties. My heart is with him. My head rebels against him. He is so improvident and for want of method, of all the public workers, he, perhaps, takes the first rank.

Do please give a silent hour to the spinning-wheel, concentrating all your attention upon it. You cannot afford to neglect it. A correspondent wrote to me the other day taking me to task for the absence of any yarn contribution from you and Mahomad Ali. I wrote to the latter nearly a fortnight ago.

I shall look forward to meeting you on the 16th. I expect to see you hale and hearty.

I had recently a despondent letter from Hakim Saheb. When you reach Delhi, you must cheer him up. Where is Shwaib? Love to everybody in the office including yourself.

Yours,

From a photostat: S.N. 19446

328. LETTER TO PYARELAL NAYYAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 11, 1926

MY DEAR PYARELAL,

You should continue to write in Hindi. For saving time, I must dictate in English, at least today. I was never troubled about Devdas's illness. I am troubled about his suppression of it till it had gone too far.

I am glad Mathuradas is so much better now. You must take good care of yourself, keep regular hours for your meals and for everything consistently with nursing the patient, if Mathura-

das may be still described as a patient. Give me your day's routine. Give me also the condition of Gomati Ben especially while Kishorelal is away.

Yours,

SJT. PYARELAL NAYYAR
C/O MATHURADAS TRIKUMJEE, ESQ.
WINDY HALL
DEOLALI
NASIK ROAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 19447

329. LETTER TO A. IRBE

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I hardly think I shall have to go to Finland. But if I do, and if I have to pass through Latvia, I would certainly like to make the acquaintance of your father. You will watch the papers and if I do go, you will perhaps send me the necessary letter.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. A. IRBE
WEAVING SCHOOL
C. S. M.
MAYAVARAM

From a photostat: S.N. 19448

330. LETTER TO BAGALA PRASANNA GUHA ROY

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Please tell me why Prakash Babu was forced to resign the Secretaryship and where he is?

I understand your difficulty about the Tippera khadi. The only way to overcome that difficulty is to become weavers yourselves and to induce the middle-class people to spin for love. The yarn we may thus get can be added to the yarn that we may have

to pay for. You can then sell your khadi as cheap as Tippera khadi. I am aware that this is more easily said than done. But there is no short cut to solve these difficult problems. You may also try to find out tracts where cotton can be easily grown.

Lastly khadi cannot be worked in a district where there are no poor people having idle hours at their disposal. The whole scheme of khadi rests upon the supposition that there are millions of poor people in India who have no work during at least 4 months in the year. If your part of India has no such people, you need not worry about production of khaddar. You have then merely to sell khaddar that may be produced in less happy districts.

You should go to Satis Babu, confer with him, discuss everything and follow his advice.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. BAGALA PRASANNA GUHA ROY
SECRETARY, JATIYA SHIKSHAMUTH
LAKSHMIPUR, UPASHI P.O.
FARIDPUR (BENGAL)

From a microfilm : S.N. 19449

331. MESSAGE ON JALLIANWALA BAGH[1]

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 11, 1926

Your Secretary has asked for a message for the 13th about Jallianwala Bagh. Here is the message:

The wanton massacre in Jallianwala Bagh that took place on the 13th day of April, 1919, is a perpetual reminder to us that it will recur as often as we attempt to lift up our heads and desire no longer to live in bondage. British rule is imposed on India not for India's service but for her exploitation. It is indeed to protect the commerce that is imposed upon India. The central item of that commerce is Manchester piece-goods. If we will avenge the humiliation of Jallianwala and the crawling lane[2] we must at least cease to wear foreign cloth and pledge ourselves to wear hand-spun khaddar. The former sterilizes British commerce, the

[1] Read out by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who was presiding over a public meeting in Marwadi Vidyalaya compound on 13th April under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee

[2] *Vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 178-81.

latter binds us to the poor whom we have neglected all these long years. Though [we have] not been exploiters of the outside world, we have exploited the peasantry in order to have ease and comfort. If we refuse to discard foreign cloth, if we find khaddar too uncomfortable, so far as I can see we must accommodate ourselves to perpetual slavery. All the reforms that we may get will be turned [to] dust if we are afraid to sacrifice ease, comfort, and much more for the sake of the country.

Yours,

SRIMATI SAROJINI NAIDU
TAJMAHAL HOTEL
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 19450

332. LETTER TO G. K. DEVADHAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have now seen Manorama. She is writing to you. She speaks broken Gujarati and Hindustani and so far as I can gather from her, before she proceeds to Poona, she wants to be sure of her readmission to the Seva Sadan. She didn't seem to relish the charge that she was unstable before.

Here, for the time being, she is learning weaving. She gives 4 hours to it. If she continues to weave for about a year and likes that work, she should be able to support herself without the slightest difficulty. But if she proves unsteady, she is not likely to learn weaving because it requires constant effort and much plodding.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. K. DEVADHAR
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19451

333. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, April 11, 1926

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your letter, which explains quite a few things. I used to read newspaper reports of the riot. I am convinced that I at any rate cannot stop the two communities from quarrelling. I was therefore not upset by the Calcutta incident. But then I have also let it be known that if the Hindus want to retaliate they should no more look upon ruthlessness as a vice; they should rather cultivate it, regarding it a virtue. And this seems to have happened in Calcutta. That you were impartial in offering protection to members of both the communities and that the Marwaris saved the life of some three hundred Muslims is a matter of pride for the Hindu community.

I congratulate you on your khadi vow and also those who persuaded you to take it. You will personally gain by this, and the public too will surely benefit by it. I shall leave for Mussoorie on the 22nd. I am keeping very fine health. Since we are observing the Satyagraha Week, I spin for two hours daily and we have in the Ashram five charkhas plying round the clock. I was very glad that you declined the title. For this you do not have to regard the Government an enemy nor condemn the title. As for me, I certainly look upon titles as bad in our present condition.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original: C.W. 6124. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

334. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN CHOKSI[1]

ASHRAM,
Sunday, Chaitra Vad 14 [April 11, 1926]

CHI. MOTI,

I have your letter, but I may say it is rather late this time. The handwriting is not as good as in your previous letter.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12124

[1] In place of the subscription, the letter carries the note: "Written by Mani on behalf of *Poojya* Bapuji."

335. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN CHOKSI

Sunday, April 11, 1926

CHI. MOTI,

Now at last a letter from you. I always knew your ways and I had also spoken to Lakshmidas about my fears. There is a couplet in Sanskrit which says: A man of honour prefers death to dishonour.[1] A man of honour is one who cherishes self-respect. It is our appointed task to overcome temptation. How could you eat coal with the same mouth which had chewed betel? You should remember that your lapse will severely affect others. Think how it will pain your elders and know that you will have nothing left by way of self-respect. I believe the craze for jewels is only a cover for the desire for sensual pleasures. At the moment you may not see it but the snake is under the carpet. If it were not, the desire for jewels would never have arisen. Man devotes himself to learning and other activities lest he should fall into such temptations. Do you not want to serve the *Antyajas*? To wash the feet of the poor? Can these tasks be done with jewels on your person? I have only this advice. Cast off your temptation looking upon it as so much dirt. I have shown your letter to no one. I do not propose to read it even to Lakshmidas and have therefore destroyed it. I shall wait for your serious resolution. But if you cannot resolve do not at all deceive yourself. May God help you.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Bhai Najuklal,

This covers everything. Time is running out, so I do not write separately to you.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12125

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, II, 34

336. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

April 12, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter about Assam. I see you and Shankerlal are not [at] one. The appointment of Rajendra Babu was my suggestion. I knew that the Assam workers were prejudiced against you, nothing could be spent there without some responsible party taking charge. I therefore suggested that Rajen Babu should report. I knew nothing of the previous day's conversation. I shall inquire when I see Shankerlal. I am just now writing this to tell you of the hand I had in appointing Rajen Babu. And I write so that to the extent that it is possible you may revise your view about Shankerlal. I am anxious that the Council should act as one man. I am aware of Shankerlal's limitations. He is hasty, emotional, nervous, forgetful. But he has a heart of gold. He is an able organizer. He loves khadi. We must bear one another's burdens. I write this during the week of purification and on Monday. I want you to be perfect. But we cannot be anything mechanically. This must therefore be taken for what it is worth.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1558

337. LETTER TO K. T. PAUL[1]

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 13, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. When Mr. Buchman met me my inclination was all towards not attending the Convention; but I left it then an open question because of his insistence. Since then, I have not made much advance. But a few friends with whom I have discussed the thing favour the idea of my accepting the invitation. The motive is mixed. Probably, the strongest reason with

[1] In reply to his letter dated 6-4-1926 requesting Gandhiji "to consider an invitation to the World Conference of the Young Men's Christian Association . . . to be held this coming August in Helsingfors, Finland." (S.N. 11341)

them is that the voyage and the outing may benefit me physically. With me the only determining factor should be whether I can render any service, in other words whether God wants me to go. I have no clear light. I propose therefore to leave it to you as a friend to decide. And in advising me or coming to a decision on my behalf you will naturally bear in mind all I am about to say.

You know my strange dress. It is not possible for me to alter it materially. I can only make such alterations as would be required by the weather conditions. I do not know how far this consideration is likely to weigh with you but I felt that you should know this.

If I am wanted for making speeches, I shall be useless. The only way I might be of service would be by heart-to-heart conversations with the students. My real work. consists in these conversations. Speech making I regard as the least important of my activities. I made this quite clear to Mr. Buchman.

My food is also a bother. I am not merely a vegetarian but my dietary is restricted. The principal article of food is goat's milk. And if you have to arrange for the passage and so on, this very inconvenient detail has to be looked to.

If I am to go, there will be one companion, possibly two.

If you come to the conclusion that I should accept the invitation, please let me know when one has to start, how long will the Convention last, who is to arrange for the passports? Are there to be any conditions attached to the passports?

I am here up to the 22nd instant. I leave for Mussoorie on the 22nd. Please tell me who is this Central Committee that sends the invitation. Who is the President and who is the Secretary? Needless to say I shall make no statement to the Press about your letter. As a matter of fact I was disturbed even when I saw the first reference in the papers. I avoided the pressmen for some time. And I made the guarded statement that I did when I saw no escape from some statement.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 11342

338. LETTER TO MAHASUKH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, April 13, 1926

BHAISHRI MAHASUKH,

Your letter. I congratulate you on stating some of your doubts. But you should not resent the answers which you have asked for from the addressee; and never doubt his sincerity. Otherwise, we had better not write to a person whose word we doubt. Why do you say that what I wrote to you was so much jugglery of words? How do you say that I was on the look-out for swaraj or some such movement? Let me repeat to you that I gave you a well-considered answer and I believe every word of it. And I ask you to accept my word as the truth.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 10884

339. LETTER TO BHAGAWANDAS BRAHMACHARI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, April 13, 1926

BHAI BHAGAWANDAS BRAHMACHARI,

I have your letter. I follow [what you say] regarding Sanskrit. I can think of nothing to say in the matter. "Vegetarian" is an imperfect expression because the ordinary Western vegetarians take milk and eggs; they do not take fish. They have therefore already coined a neologism, viz., VEM diet, i.e., vegetables, eggs and milk. Ordinary vegetarians do not take fish; they take onions. They do not make it a point to give up garlic. The expression "*sattvik*"[1] diet will not do. Because those who take chillies cannot be regarded as *sattvik* eaters and many meat-eaters will take meat claiming it as *sattvik*. I have selected the expression *annahar* keeping in mind the special meaning of the word *anna*, which includes all that we eat barring meat, etc. Of course this definition too is rather wide, but I have found *annahar* better than all the expressions I have come across till now.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 10885-A

[1] Pure, clear

340. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, April 13, 1926

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. Bhai Bhansali told me that you had fever. Be careful. I see that the illness was not there before or during the holidays. I did guess you would need more money; if the need is not urgent we may discuss it when you come here. In the meanwhile I shall certainly talk to Kishorelal and others. Do not hesitate to write to me if there is any urgency.

I must continue to be silent about Shivjibhai of Madhada. I continue to get indignant letters from which I can imagine what must be going on. How can my silence be exploited? If I am not upset by their attempts at exploitation, they, not I, will stand to lose. If you must think of 'transmigration', try to think of it as blissful. We grieve only because of our ignorance and weakness.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19452

341. LETTER TO NARGIS CAPTAIN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 14, 1926

I was thankful to receive your letter and to hear that Perin was better and more cheerful. I wish she could have stayed longer with you. I am sure that fasting would be good for your headache. It is a superstition to think that lean people cannot fast.

I do not want you in Mussoorie. If you will only go to Kashmir even for two months, I am sure you will benefit by the visit. I am not likely to stay in Mussoorie beyond the middle of June if so much. Is Dr. Bahadurji still spinning? When they do come please remember me to him and to Manekbai.

Yours,

MRS. NARGIS CAPTAIN
PUNCHGANI

From a microfilm: S.N. 19458

342. LETTER TO MOTILAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, April 14, 1926

BHAI MOTILAL,

I have your letter and Rs. 101 for khadi work. Thank you.

From a copy of the Gujarati: S.N. 19453-R

343. LETTER TO LABHSHANKAR MEHTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, April 14, 1926

BHAISHRI LABHSHANKAR,

1. The English maxim you quote applies generally in the case of ailments. One learns mostly from experience where to apply such maxims.

2. Never have I seen or heard of one becoming rich by sweating. There is however a saying that everyone should sweat to earn his livelihood.

3. I do not think it is right to say that the principles propounded in *Hind Swaraj* are not workable just because I cannot practise them perfectly. The maxim that you quote can certainly not apply to me, because not only do I refuse to excuse myself, but positively confess my shortcoming.

4. If you must make a distinction between a vow and a resolve, the vow is certainly worthier. It is a resolve that cannot be given up. A resolve that can be is worthless.

5. I do not understand your fifth question. Is there really any principle behind the Latin proverb you quote? What could it mean?

6. I cannot appreciate the relationship that you describe.

7. I regard the study of astronomy as essential.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 10883

344. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, April 14, 1926

CHI. RAMDAS,

No letter from you after your last postcard. I may be said to have some leisure today because the Week is over. I have been, however, busy with the Committee meetings as soon as the Week was over. The Parishad Committee met yesterday; and again today. Now the Vidyapith Committee.

Devdas has arrived today; he had quite an attack of jaundice. He has gone very weak. One cannot bear to look at him, but the jaundice is now subsiding. His bowels are cleared; so he will get well in a short time. Pyarelal has been sent to Deolali. I intend to take Devdas to Mussoorie. I am eager to know what could be accomplished there during this Week. They have done a good job here. Kanti, Keshu, Krishnadas, the *Antyaja* student Keshavlal, Somabhai, Jaisimha and others spun for about ten hours daily and some of them for 22 hours, which means they slept hardly for an hour. In 22.5 hours Keshu spun 9119 *tars*, i.e., 12024 yards. This is very good speed. Keshu's yarn was 17 counts. Ba also spun quite a lot. One day Manu spun more than a thousand [*tars*].

I hope you are well. Devchandbhai and others will most probably leave today.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19454

345. LETTER TO PRATAPSIMHA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Second Chaitra Sud 2 [April 14, 1926][1]

KUMARSHRI PRATAPSIMHAJI,

The [Working] Committee of the Kathiawar Political Conference met today. I hoped to have the reply to my letter before this. But since I did not, I could not give satisfactory answers to the members of the Committee. I have to leave for Mussoorie

[1] From the reference to the meeting of the Kathiawar Political Conference and Gandhiji's proposed trip to Mussoorie

on the 22nd. I shall be obliged if I can have your reply before I leave.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19455

346. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, April 14, 1926

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

The Parishad's [Working] Committee have resolved to take over the Amreli Centre, and they have further resolved to convert it into a trust. There was much discussion. Credit to the account of the Conference whatever commission falls due to Gariyadhar and Panch Talawadi. Do not clear any dues in cash.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19456

347. LETTER TO ADAMSALEH A. PATEL

ASHRAM,
April 14, 1926

BHAI ADAMSALEH ALIBHAI,

You have left me far behind. I have undertaken to reform a single person, and that is my own self. And I realize how difficult it is to reform him. Now, need I answer your questions?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SJT. A. A. PATEL
PANOLI
DISTRICT BROACH

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19901

348. LETTER TO QUAYAM ALI M. SALEMWALA

ASHRAM,
April 14, 1926

BHAISHRI QUAYAM ALI,

I have your letter. The site of the Jallianwala Bagh was purchased with the help of the funds raised for the purpose. The site was cleared to make room for the park. No memorial has been raised because the circumstances in the country are not favourable. How can we raise the edifice of freedom while we undermine its foundations? The trustees, I believe, fight shy of a memorial because they have this fear.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SHRI QUAYAM ALI MOHAMAD ALI SALEMWALA
C/O MOHAMAD ALI & SONS
SOMERSET STREET, CAMP
KARACHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19902

349. "THE TAKLI TEACHER"

This is the title of a booklet covering 80 pages issued by the All-India Spinners' Association, Ahmedabad, and prepared at its instance by Messrs Richard B. Gregg and Maganlal K. Gandhi. It contains 23 clear, well-thought-out illustrations showing the different forms of *takli* and the various positions in handling this simple little instrument of household use and national importance. It gives accurate hints on spinning by the *takli*, so that anybody who will read the booklet carefully can master the art of spinning by the *takli*. It also dwells upon the different uses to which the *takli* can be put and compares the advantages of the *takli* over the charkha in some instances. It also teaches how to make a *takli* and winds up with historical information about this instrument which enabled the spinners of Dacca to spin the finest yarn, the like of which no machine has yet been able to produce. There are valuable hints which are useful to the spinner both on the *takli* and on the charkha.

Of the educational value of the *takli*, the writers explain that it develops in the spinner patience, persistence, concentration, self-control, calmness, realization of importance and value of detail, ability to do more than one thing at a time, making one of them so habitual that its control and operation are almost unconscious, sensitiveness, sureness and delicacy of touch and of muscular control and co-ordination, realization of value of cumulative and sustained individual effort even though separate efforts be of short duration; thus a realization of the value of co-operative work, self-respect and self-reliance arising from recognition of one's ability to create something of economic value useful to oneself, to one's family, to the school and to the village, province or nation. There are several other values mentioned in this short chapter which the reader interested in the national spinning movement may see for himself in the book.

The publishers invite criticism of the book from those who are versed in the art of spinning on the *takli*, and they would welcome any suggestion, advice or information that may be sent to them so as to enable them to incorporate them in a future edition.

The book is being simultaneously published in Hindi with the same illustrations and the same get up. Whether in Hindi or English, the book can be had at the Ashram, Sabarmati, on payment of As. 7 including postage.

I hope that every *takli* teacher in municipal and national schools where *takli* has been introduced will procure the book for his own guidance and that of his pupils.

Young India, 15-4-1926

350. PANDIT NEHRU AND KHADDAR

Pandit Motilalji has never been *persona grata* with *The Times of India*. The latest offence committed by him is that of hawking khaddar in Allahabad where only a few years ago he could hardly be seen going anywhere except in his grand motor car. But in the elegant language of the writer: "Even in India it must be recognized that Pandit Nehru is making an ass of himself." It is to be wished that many leaders will follow Panditji and earn the title that has been so courteously bestowed upon Panditji by *The Times of India*. It is generally time to rejoice when one receives a curse from opponents. Their praises should make one cautious.

The Romans feared the Greeks especially when they brought gifts.

The *Times'* writer has out-done himself in showing his contempt for the Congress, khaddar and Congressmen. I must let the reader judge for himself. The writer says:

> The completeness of the Congress collapse, the utter futility of the so-called Congress creed, and the total absence among Congress supporters of a single reasonable political idea are illustrated by a telegram despatched in all earnestness from Allahabad.

The Writer then proceeds:

> If the British public learnt that Lord Birkenhead, wearing a Union Jack waistcoat, had been selling true blue Tory rosettes beneath the lions in Trafalgar Square, that Mr. Baldwin had been promoting Empire industries by hawking trays of British toys in Piccadilly, that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, attired in corduroys and a muffler, had been disposing of red flags among the workers in Limehouse, or that the Clydeside Bolshevists had set up a stall on Clydeside for the sale of miniature sickles and hammers, the unanimous conclusion of all classes would be that their leaders had gone mad.

The inference naturally is that the distinguished hawkers of khaddar such as Pandit Nehru and Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar who accompanied him in his hawking have gone mad. The language used by the writer is not only insulting but it is also highly misleading. What possible comparison can there be between "true blue Tory rosettes" hawked by a British Tory and khaddar which, rightly or wrongly, represents to thousands of Indians an emblem of a real bond between the classes and the masses? For only by khaddar the classes, through whom the British Government holds sway over the toiling dumb millions, could make some little return to the masses, for the bleeding process which the latter have to undergo in order to feed the British Government. The insult has been possible only because the fashion has been set by the Liberal politicians to belittle khadi and all it means. Who does not remember that at the time the War broke out, young and old, men and women, great and small, in fact all who were not enlisted or could not be enlisted as soldiers, were expected to sew, as a matter of fact did sew, garments for the wounded soldiers who were received in the various hospitals? People at that time vied with one another in doing this little service and those who did not know how to stitch were thankful if they received preliminary training from their neighbours. All distinctions were erased in the face of

the awful calamity that had overtaken the British people. I make bold to say that if it was patriotic and necessary for everyone to do the sewing and hundreds of other odd jobs which in ordinary life they never did, it is a thousand times necessary and patriotic for every Indian to wear khaddar to the exclusion of all foreign cloth and thus find the only occupation, that is, of hand-spinning, which is possible for the millions of India to undertake.

We read in English books that when a movement is ridiculed by its opponents, it may be said to be making headway and when it excites the anger of their opponents, it is said to be producing the desired effect. If *The Times of India* at all represents British public opinion, khaddar is evidently producing the desired effect.

The writer of the article in question assures the readers that "the Allahabad public does not want the Congress grave-clothes", as he has called khaddar, "any more than they are wanted in any other part of India". If so it is difficult to understand all the contempt poured upon khaddar. But it is for the Congress leaders to prove that khaddar is not the "grave-clothes" of the Congress but that it establishes an unbreakable link between the Congress and the masses and thus makes the former more representative than it ever has been.

In fairness, however, to Europeans, let me say that in the venomous abuse of khaddar, *The Times of India* writer by no means represents the general European opinion. I know several Europeans in India who believe in the message of khaddar and some who use it themselves. Its message has even reached Europe. Here is a letter from a professor from far-off Poland regarding khaddar:

> Do you not think it would be a good thing if an attempt were made to sell Indian tissues in Europe to friends of India? I might try on a small scale here if you send me tissues of your cloth with indication of prices in English currency and an English address to which the money could be sent. I think that even if the amount of sales would not be very great, it would be useful for propaganda and I hope that many people at least in Poland would be proud and happy to wear Indian cloth in order to show their sympathy with your work. . . . This is perhaps the most efficient way to gain universal sympathy for the emancipation of India. I could not easily undertake to spin myself but I can undertake to go from house to house and encourage the buying of Indian cloth even if it is more expensive than our own products.

Young India, 15-4-1926

351. WHAT IS IT LIKE?

An Englishman writing to his relatives in London thus gives vent to his feelings after having been in New York for 48 hours:

> It is all quite true — skyscrapers, iced water, elevators express to the 25th floor, subways, Negroes; I never quite believed it before. But that's all I know. I have been here 48 hours — never such a 48 hours before — I can't last much longer. I've been walked about, talked at, dined, lunched, theatred; I'm so tired, I can hardly see. Incredible, inconceivable. My timetable is arranged to the minute — I am telephoned to wherever I am to see that I am moving on the next engagement. By a subterfuge I have escaped. I am to go out to dinner in an hour or so. You must not expect anything more than postcards. It's very cold out—freezing—while it boils within. My head goes into solution in these temperatures.

Englishmen will sympathize with me when I say that I felt about as uncomfortable reaching London for the first time as the writer of the foregoing did on reaching New York. And I know that a villager going to Bombay feels similarly bewildered and lost in finding himself in the midst of the hubbub and bustle of Bombay.

Young India, 15-4-1926

352. NOTES

'The Morals of Machinery'[1]

The Current Thought for February has reproduced Mr. Richard B. Gregg's letter to a friend on the "Morals of Machinery". Mr. Gregg is an ex-American lawyer with a wide experience of his own country. He has lived in the midst of the very things he describes in his letter and has at one time in his life contributed to their growth. He therefore writes with authority. He says:

> Most people accept mechanism for its immediate results and are quite blind to the secondary results of slower growth. But these latter are the most important.

He then recounts in detail the evils of multiplication of machinery.

[1] Dictated on 11-4-1926; *vide* "Letter to Richard B. Gregg", 11-4-1926.

He puts 'enormous concentration of material power and wealth in the hands of the few' first in the list. Mr. Gregg truly says :

> Machinery and modern industry have taken the money of millions of people and concentrated its management and control into relatively few hands and modern developments of banking and credit have concentrated the control of all the materials and factories and mills into still fewer hands.

Do we not see this process going on even in our own country at the cost of the millions who are being bled white in order to support huge industries thousands of miles away from their cottages? Mr. Gregg says:

> Probably the real, ultimate control of industry in Europe, America and most of Asia and Africa is concentrated in the hands of not over 1,500 men, perhaps fewer still.
>
> Such tremendous power is a temptation which human nature cannot withstand. It involves tyranny, vanity, pride, greed, selfishness, ruthless competition on the one side, loss of liberty, insecurity, fears, loss of self-reliance and of independence, degradation, poverty, loss of dignity and self-respect on the other.
>
> Deaths, maiming and crippling by industrial accidents far exceed corresponding injuries by war. Diseases and physical deterioration caused directly and indirectly by modern industry are appalling. For, it is industry that has caused the development of large cities with their smoke, dirt, noise, bad air, lack of sunshine and out-door life, slums, disease, prostitution, and unnatural living.

The waste in advertisements is truly "appalling":

> The President of the British Incorporated Society of Advertisement Consultants recently estimated that the annual expenditure on advertisements for the British Isles alone is £175,000,000. ! ! !

Another striking feature is "parasitism".

> Man is made to obey the machine. The wealthy and middle classes become helpless and parasitic upon the working classes. And the latter become so specialized that they also become helpless. The ordinary city dweller cannot make his own clothing or produce or prepare his own food. The cities become parasitic upon the country. Industrial nations upon agricultural nations. Those who live in temperate climates are increasingly parasitic upon tropical peoples. Governments upon the peoples they govern. Armies upon civilians. People even become parasitic and passive in regard to their recreation and amusements. They want to *be* amused, instead of amusing themselves. They throng the cinemas and theatres and music halls. They watch others play cricket, etc.

> Along with this parasitism has come widespread irresponsibility. The industrial "magnate" or banker issues an order in Europe which affects vitally the lives of Negroes in Central Africa.

The consumers, too, fare no better. They too cease to feel the responsibility. Mr. Gregg exclaims:

> When I, seated in a restaurant in France, put some pepper in my soup, do I stop to think what poor coolie in Java, perchance, endured the hardship of gathering it, while subject to a fever, and perhaps to the indignities and brutality of harsh plantation supervision?

I must however resist the temptation to quote more from this instructive letter. I must ask the reader to see the original if the samples I have put before him have whetted his appetite for more. The reader must not think that Mr. Gregg is against all machinery. He is against its uncontrolled multiplication. He would regulate and restrain its use as we regulate or ought to regulate and curb our passions. That use of machinery is lawful which subserves the interests of all.

How to Help?

An Indian correspondent living in London writes:

> Every person asks me how people who live in America, Germany, France, Italy, as well as England can help the Indian cause? What can they do to help us in our fight for swaraj? They ask further what can India teach the world? Has she any message to the people who are fighting? And, if so, what can she contribute towards creating world peace?

The first question is easily answered. If even God only helps those who help themselves, how would people, imperfect as they are, help one another unless they are prepared to help themselves? But after all there is something in creating a sane world opinion. There is no doubt that that opinion is daily growing in influence. The chapters, which I am reproducing[1] in a somewhat condensed form from Mr. Page's pamphlet, show clearly how people were led into error by mis-education. They were fed during the War on diabolical lies by their respective governments. I have therefore suggested to every European friend who has been good enough to visit the Ashram to study our movement, not from newspaper reports, which are ill-informed where they are not interested, but from original writings. It grieves me to have to say that the British Government agency, both public and secret, is

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXIX, pp. 275-6.

spreading a wholly incorrect view of the situation. No Indian patriotic agency can possibly overtake the lies spread by this highly organized and lavishly paid secret service from whose attention even the great Poet[1] of Asia, indeed of the world, has not been free. It is only impartial and sober representatives of the respective European countries and America who can, if at all, controvert the statements that are being broadcast on behalf of the British Government.

The second question is more difficult to answer.

If the question had been, what has India taught to the world, I could have referred the questioner to Max Muller's book *What Can India Teach Us?*. But the question here put is not in terms of the past of India but in terms of her present. I must then frankly confess that at the present moment India can teach the world little. She is trying to develop ability to vindicate her liberty by means strictly non-violent and truthful. Some of us who are in the movement have an undying faith in those means, but it is not possible in an instant to transmit that faith to people outside India. It is not possible to say that that faith is even the common property of educated India. But there is no doubt that if India succeeds in regaining her liberty through non-violent means, she would have delivered her message to the others who are fighting for it, and what is perhaps more, she would have made the largest contribution yet known to world peace.

Monthly Khadi Returns

The following[2] are the figures for production and sale, so far as available, of khadi during the month of January. I do hope that the other provinces or institutions which have not yet sent in their returns will do so without delay, so as to make the figures up to date.

The figures of Andhra are incomplete, only 25 out of 61 organizations having sent their reports to the provincial office. Bombay figures include only the sales of the Princess Street Khadi Bhandar, and the Charkha Sangh Bhandar, 14, Dadi Seth Agyari Lane, Kalbadevi Road, and of the Rashtriya Stree Sabha. The figures for the Sandhurst Road Khadi Bhandar are not available. The Bengal figures include those of the Khadi Pratishthan and of the Abhoy Ashram. The Tamilnad figures are complete and the sale figures have been corrected so as to avoid duplication due to sales to branch depots and the like. U.P. figures represent only those

[1] Rabindranath Tagore

[2] Not reproduced here

of the Gandhi Ashram, Banaras, and Cawnpore Bhandar. The Allahabad Bhandar figures are not available but its average sales amount to about Rs. 700 per month. In Delhi only the figures of Sjt. Chiranjilal Pyarelal, Hapur, are given, the figures of the Swaraj Ashram and the Khadi Bhandar of Sjt. Bishambhar Dayal being not yet available.

Young India, 15-4-1926

353. LETTER TO K. VENKATESAN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 15, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Sorry, it is not possible to let you have *Young India* free of charge. But if you will send half the subscription, i.e., Rs. 2½, I shall ask the Manager to send your Society a copy.

I am afraid none of my books has been printed in English at the Navajivan Press. They have all been published by different publishers. I shall therefore suggest your writing to them for free copies or at advantageous rates.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. VENKATESAN
HONORARY SECRETARY
ANDHRA DRAMATIC AND LITERARY SOCIETY
QUARTER NO. 9 M. ROAD
P. O. JAMSHEDPUR
(VIA) TATANAGAR, B. N. RY.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19457

354. LETTER TO DHAN GOPAL MUKERJEE[1]

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 16, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I wrote to you at the address that was given by you. You are right in surmising that I do not encourage your coming specially for the purpose of gathering materials for writing the proposed biography.

I am writing to the Manager, *Young India*, to give him your instructions. Thank you. I am quite well. And the rest from constant travelling that I am giving myself is doing me a great deal of good.

Yours sincerely,

DHAN G. MUKERJEE
1904, TIMES BUILDING
TIMES SQUARE
NEW YORK CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 12465

355. LETTER TO GIR RAJ KISHORE

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 16, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I congratulate you on your decision not to re-marry.

I do not know that you will be happy here. This is a place where hard toil is required of every inmate. One has to commence with cleaning night-soil buckets, agricultural labour, etc., and end with becoming an expert carder, spinner and weaver. Of

[1] In reply to the addressee's letter in which he wrote: "About three weeks ago I got your cablegram saying 'Await Letter'. I have not had any word from you since . . . I am afraid it brings me the word that I am not to see you — at least not yet . . . why have they stopped sending me the paper? . . . Will you kindly ask the manager to write me regarding my subscription? Let him send me your memoir from the first issue." (S.N. 12465)

my own personal guidance you can have but little. If such life would suit you, it will be possible to take you as soon as the pressure which is great here at present is removed.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. GIR RAJ KISHORE
C/O SJT. ANANDILALJI
STATION MASTER
MORAK, B. B. AND C. I. RY.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19459

356. LETTER TO G. K. DEVADHAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 16, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your two letters. I explained the contents to Manorama. She says she will wait for a reply from Mrs. Devadhar to whom at your instance she has written. She seems to be somewhat unwilling to move out. But if you or Mrs. Devadhar write to her probably she would go to the Seva Sadan.

I know that she will never be able by remaining here to earn as much as she can by finishing the course there and I have told her so too. But probably being just now comfortable here she does not want to move out unless she has something definite from you for as soon as I mentioned your letters to her, she said she had not heard anything from you directly and that she was waiting for a reply from Mrs. Devadhar, who I hope is quite all right and who, you should tell her, is free to come to the Ashram as her own home whenever she feels inclined.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19460

357. LETTER TO DR. SURESH CHANDRA BANNERJEE

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 16, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

The notice of the Abhoy Ashram prices had led to correspondence like the enclosed. Do you want to cater for orders from outside? If so, please correspond with the writer and let me know so that others who have written may be informed accordingly.

I hope that you were able to get the money in Bombay without any difficulty.

Yours sincerely,

DR. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE
ABHOY ASHRAM
COMILLA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19461

358. LETTER TO PYARELAL NAYYAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 16, 1926

MY DEAR PYARELAL,

I have your letter. All things considered, unless Dr. Mehta sends peremptory instructions perhaps it will be as well for Mathuradas to remain in Deolali. But if he himself has the wish and the energy, I know that Sinhgarh is an ideal place during May. He can have absolutely separate accommodation there. He need not see anybody. There is perfect quiet, no dust and it is very cool there. The water is soft. Kaka has gained much by his having gone there. But the matter is purely for Mathuradas to decide.

Devdas is here now. He is quite alright. He has been taking milk. He looks very pale and weak but now that he is taking milk, he should be soon strong and fit. Motilalji will probably be here next week. I have gained one pound in weight during the week.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19462

359. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

SABARMATI,
April 16, 1926

DEAR MR. JAYAKAR,

I have your telegram in reply to mine. I have accordingly telegraphed to Messrs Kelkar, Moonje and Aney. I add that I know nothing more of this proposed conference beyond a telegram received yesterday from Motilalji saying that he wanted this conference, that I should choose the dates and wire them to you which I did. Assuming that you knew all about it except for the dates. In accordance with your telegrams I have sent wires to the three friends giving Tuesday and Wednesday next. I am supposed to leave for Mussoorie on the 22nd. If these dates are not suitable and my presence is regarded necessary at the conference seeing that there will be but a few invited, perhaps it can take place at Mussoorie.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 19463

360. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, April 16, 1926

BHAISHRI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter and the cheque for Rs. 26,000. I shall answer your questions regarding the Hindu-Muslim riots, but the replies are not for the Press. I have told you that I have no influence at all now over the Hindus, at any rate over that class among them which interests itself in these disturbances. My views, therefore, are misunderstood. Hence I believe that it is best for me to say nothing.

If the Government has banned processions and it is necessary to take out one on some religious occasion, I would think it right to do so despite the Government ban. But before starting the procession, I would apologize to the Muslims. If they do not respond even to such a courteous gesture, I should go ahead with the procession and submit to any violence on their part. If I

do not have the strength for such non-violence, I should provide myself with means for fighting before taking out the procession.

I would not dismiss grooms and other Muslim servants merely because they are Muslims. But I would not retain a Muslim who was not sincere in his work or behaved rudely to me. I do not believe that the Muslims are more markedly ungrateful than members of any other community, but I have observed that they lose temper more quickly. It seems to me altogether wrong not to have a Muslim simply because he is a Muslim.

Those Hindus who do not approve of the non-violent way or are not equipped to follow it should acquire the strength to fight it out physically.

If the Government takes sides with the Muslims, Hindus need not worry on that account. They should not care for the Government. They should fend for themselves, relying on their own strength without seeking its favour. When the Hindus have cultivated sufficient courage for this, the Government will on its own maintain an impartial attitude, and the Muslims will not then look for its support. In seeking the Government's help, we neither serve our dharma nor give evidence of manhood. I would advise you to look at the matter dispassionately and go on with your work. That is in the best interests of the Hindus, the only way of serving Hinduism, as I can say from my long experience of not less than thirty-five years. I was very pleased with your calm and brave attitude during the riots. You should keep up that attitude and do what you think the situation calls for. If there is anything in my reply which is not clear to you, please do write to me again.

I propose to accept a part of the loan you have promised for the All-India Spinners' Association against the stocks in Bombay. The Association has two godowns in Bombay. If you wish, you may take possession of one of them and acquire sufficient stocks to cover the loan to be kept there. If you agree, we should like you to keep even more so that we may be saved rent on one godown. In that case, it should be so arranged that we can draw from those stocks whenever we want to. There will be frequent additions to or withdrawal from the stocks which the Spinners' Association will maintain besides what is required by way of security, so that you will have to permit easy access to them.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 6125. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

361. *LETTER TO MANILAL DOCTOR*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, April 16, 1926

BHAISHRI MANILAL,

I have your letter. I had certainly thought that I would succeed in persuading Jeki to give over custody of the children, but I realized later that I had over-estimated my influence. I can carry out only that arrangement on which both of you agree. My present effort, therefore, is limited to getting some help. I do not agree with your analysis at all. My experience is just to the contrary. Human failings and weaknesses are to be found everywhere. Some of the weaknesses of our people which you point out are the result of our slavery. And this slavery has not been our lot for only a generation or so. However, we need not enter into a discussion about that. You hold strong views on the subject and I know it is beyond me to change them. I only want that you should recover your equanimity and live in peace. I know that you have suffered much in your life.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 10888-A

362. *LETTER TO JAYAKUNWAR*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, April 16, 1926

CHI. JEKI,

I have your letter. I think I did what was necessary as soon as I received the letter from the Ceylonese friends. I did send the papers to Doctor, but I have not yet received his reply. I am writing again. I will not fail to do my best. I am keeping well.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S. N. 10888-B

363. LETTER TO PRANJIVAN MEHTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, April 16, 1926

BHAISHRI PRANJIVAN,

I hope you got my earlier letter regarding Jeki. Herewith another. I have also had a letter from Shri Manilal to the same effect. Please decide soon about this matter. I have been awaiting your letter for a long time. I got detailed reports about your health. I will most probably leave for Mussoorie on the 22nd.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19464

364. LETTER TO DAYALJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, April 16, 1926

BHAISHRI DAYALJI,

I see from your letter that a meeting is soon to be held of all those who contribute funds for the Vinay Mandir at Surat. Kindly give them the following message on my behalf.

The Mandir's [Managing] Committee has resolved to entrust its administration to me for its better working and for the implementation of the principles on which it was intended to run. I too, have agreed to take over the administration, and am making arrangements to get a special committee formed for the purpose in consultation with Vallabhbhai. Everyone knows that I am not in a position personally to look after the running of the Mandir. It is, therefore, necessary to have some such agency as a committee. I have written to Shri Narahari to accept its principalship till some other arrangement can be made. I am discussing with the President, Shri Nrisimhaprasad what to do next. I hope that our friends will continue to pay the contributions as resolved by them in the year [19]20. I need not say that arrangements will be made to maintain full accounts of the administration of the school.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19465

365. LETTER TO R. S. IYER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 17, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter as also the yarn packet. The manager of the Weaving Department tells me that it will take about one month before the yarn can be woven. This department always remains crowded and orders received from outside have to take their turn.

The charge of weaving cloth of 50" width is annas 6½ per yard. After receipt of your reply the order will be put in turn.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. S. IYER
C/O "THE TIMES OF INDIA"
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19471

366. LETTER TO KRISHNADAS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 17, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNADAS,

I was wondering why you were silent all these days. Now I know. Nothing exciting to report from here. Devdas was suffering from jaundice; therefore, he has come here and Pyarelal has gone to take his place at Deolali. Prabhudas has returned from Lonavala. He still needs careful attention. Devdas is much better now but he is very much pulled down. Jamna Behn has just come in today with Eshwant Prasad. Mira is getting on quite well. She is doing her Hindi regularly with Surendra. I hope you are getting *Young India* and *Navajivan* regularly.

Yours,

SJT. KRISHNADAS
DARBHANGA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19472

367. LETTER TO N. C. KELKAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 17, 1926

DEAR MR. KELKAR,

I have your wire in reply to which I have sent the following: "Do come. Man proposes God disposes."

I had no idea of this informal conference. Panditji telegraphed to me saying I should fix dates convenient for me before leaving for Mussoorie and inform him and Mr. Jayakar of the dates. I wired accordingly to both of them and Mr. Jayakar wired to me saying he would come but that I should send my own wires to you, Dr. Moonje, and Mr. Aney which I did. Whether the conference will be fruitful or not will depend on the mode that guides us all when we meet. I have not heard from Panditji as to what he proposes to do or what he expects, or on what basis he has decided this informal conference.

I have just now received wires from Dr. Moonje and Mr. Aney that they will attend. Mr. Aney's says that friends in Bengal and elsewhere should also be invited. But I presume Panditji has issued invitations himself.

Hoping to have the pleasure of meeting you on Tuesday.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. N. C. KELKAR
"KESARI" OFFICE
POONA

From a photostat: S.N. 19474

368. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA MUKERJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 17, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I was so delighted to receive your long letter and another from Krishna. I shall read the pamphlet you have sent me and let you have my opinion on it.

I hope that this visit to Darbhanga will restore you completely.

Yes, the Hindu-Muslim question has to solve itself. God's ways are inscrutable and I believe in complete non-interference where there is no definite light from within.

I expect to leave for Mussoorie on the 22nd instant.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19475

369. LETTER TO GOVINDJI PITAMBER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, April 17, 1926

BHAI GOVINDJI PITAMBER,

I have your letter. All the steps in the ceremony besides *Saptapadi*, from the installation of Ganesh to the Vedic sacrifice, were performed in the Ashram precincts, in fact on the Ashram lawns. I think it will be difficult to send Shastriji from here. See if you can make arrangements at Morvi. If you don't succeed, you may write to me. I shall then try my best. I do not have with me a printed copy of all the ritual [verses] which formed part of the ceremony performed here. I propose to get them printed. But that will take some time. Please explain this patiently to the visitors from Maliya. I shall be able to send you the verses used in the ceremony here, in case any Brahmin there comes forward to officiate.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 10889

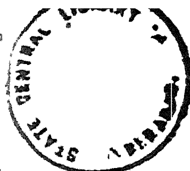
370. LETTER TO NAJUKLAL N. CHOKSI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, April 17, 1926

BHAI NAJUKLAL,

Please treat this letter as meant for you both. I was, and am still, so busy that I am surprised I could dictate even a couple of lines.[1] But I remembered the saying "Rather than have no uncle at all, it is better to have someone whom one may call uncle." I contented myself with two lines. That apart, when I think of Moti's nature and the line and a half she has written, surely I must

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Motibehn Choksi", 11-4-1926.



regard my two lines more than sufficient! And you gave her a new name, more pompous than the one she boasted. When Sukanya[1] wrote letters, even grown-up and experienced men and women must have found something to learn from them. When may I expect similar letters from this Sukanya? Well, you two may think over this and let me know. Does your recovery mean you are restored to perfect health? See that you always remain as fit as you are now. It seems we shall be leaving for Mussoorie on the 22nd. Lakshmidas is touring Kathiawar. He will be here on the 20th and most probably will accompany me. Moti seems to be doing rather well at her English. I guess this from her handwriting. But tell her that her Gujarati handwriting is still far from being as neat as well-strung pearls[2].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12126

371. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, April 17, 1926

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

Read the enclosed letter. If you need any hand there, take up Vallabhji. I have known him a little and perhaps you also know him. I think Ramdas knows him. You need not take him up just to employ him. You may engage him only if you need a hand and find Vallabhji suitable. If you decide to appoint him, please write to him directly and also drop a line to me.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19466

[1] A young princess who volunteered to marry the old and infirm *rishi* Chyavan

[2] Literally, "Moti" means a pearl.

372. LETTER TO MANU

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, April 17, 1926

CHI. MANU[1],

I learnt that you were very ill. Since then I have been keeping myself informed about your health through visitors. I was recently told by Swami Anand that you are now almost normal, and have learnt it again today from Shri Chandrakant's letter. I have not forgotten your many services to me when I was in hospital nor your majestic gait, nor your ever-smiling face. May God restore you to complete health and grant you a long life dedicated to the service of the country.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19468

373. LETTER TO CHANDRAKANT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, April 17, 1926

BHAISHRI CHANDRAKANT,

I got your letter, as also the cheque for Rs. 500. I was glad to hear that my argument had appealed to mother. I shall utilize the amount only to help victims of famine who can do a little work. I had learnt that Chi. Manu was better now. I inquire after him every time I have visitors from that side. Since you have specially written about him, I enclose a letter for him. Please pass it on to him.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19467

[1] Son of Prof. Trivedi; *vide* "Its Meaning", 27-5-1926.

374. LETTER TO PRABHALAKSHMI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, April 17, 1926

CHI. PRABHALAKSHMI,

I got your letter giving the story of your life. I could read it to the end only yesterday. I got your second letter today. Your story is distressing. I shall use the information on suitable occasions, leaving out the names of places and persons. I think we should keep ourselves within the limits of the four *varnas*, except when there are reasons to the contrary. There will be no possibility of love springing up between a man and a woman if from the very beginning their emotions are so trained that they learn to regard such love as forbidden, as, for instance, brother and sister. We may think of God as either a Being or as Formless Essence. I think we may meditate upon the Formless Essence as *satchidanand*[1]. *Phalannahar*[2] would be a rather difficult and pretentious phrase. The best way is to take cooked grain to include fruit. I should like you to be perfectly self-composed.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19469

375. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, April 17, 1926

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. You will need time to recover enough strength. It will be some time before you are able to lift Dilip and yet feel no strain. We have decided to go to Mussoorie by the metregauge line. I think I must resist for the time being my desire to see you. Not only will it take more time to go *via* Bombay, but there would be other difficulties too. If I stay with you, I would not leave in a day. On my way back, I am thinking of returning to the Ashram *via* Deolali, if you are there then. After my talk with Devdas, I have concluded that you will stay on

[1] Absolute existence, consciousness and bliss

[2] Diet of fruit and grain

at Deolali. I would certainly be happy if you took courage and came to Mussoorie. I know it would be rather difficult to have Taramati with you there. But I will write to you again after I reach Mussoorie and see how things there are. If, however, you can consider going to Mussoorie independently of me, you will be very welcome, and in that case it is not at all necessary for you to wait for my decision. Jamnalalji comes here tomorrow. I intend to discuss this matter with him too. In case you decide to come, there is no need for you to bring along your cook and other servants. You need not be scared of the hospital at Juhu. The decision to leave this place on the 22nd stands for the present. Motilalji, Jayakar and others are holding their discussions here on Tuesday and Wednesday. I cannot tell if this will delay my departure.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19470

376. MY "KAMADHENU"[1]

I know that I have been ridiculed by some people for calling the spinning-wheel a gateway to my salvation. But even so may, a person who makes himself a little ball of clay, gives to it the imposing name of Parthiweshwar Chintamani and concentrates on it all the faculties of his being in the hope of "seeing God face to face" by that means, be sneered at by those who do not share his faith in the life-giving power of his image. But would he, madly bent as he is on attaining self-realization, give up his worship on this account? No. On the contrary he will strive on without flagging till success crowns his efforts, as in the end it must, while his detractors will only be the worse off for their gibes. Similarly, if my conception of the spinning-wheel comes from a pure heart, it will become to me the means of my salvation. A faithful Hindu's ears will automatically turn to the direction where *Ramanama* is being repeated, and for the time being all the evil passions will subside in him. What does it matter if the repetition of that divine name fails to produce any impression on others? A Hindu may not be in the least affected by the cry of *Allah-o-Akbar*, but a Mussalman is roused by it. Similarly, a pious Englishman, the moment he is reminded of the presence within him of God, will be able to restrain his passions and compose him-

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 18-4-1926. This is a translation by Mahadev Desai.

self for the time being. As is the spirit behind worship, so is the fruit thereof.

It follows then that even if the spinning-wheel be in itself nothing, and the virtues that I have attributed to it exist only in my imagination, it will still prove at least to me my *Kamadhenu*, i.e., Cow of Plenty. I think of the poor of India every time that I draw a thread on the wheel. The poor of India today have lost faith in God, more so in the middle classes or the rich. For a person suffering from the pangs of hunger, and desiring nothing but to fill his belly, his belly is his God. To him anyone who gives him bread is his Master. Through him he may even see God. To give alms to such persons, who are sound in all their limbs, is to debase oneself and them. What they need is some kind of occupation, and the occupation that will give employment to millions can only be hand-spinning. But I can instil my faith in the potency of hand-spinning in the minds of the toilers of India not by making speeches but only by spinning myself. Therefore, I have described my spinning as a penance or sacrament. And, since I believe that where there is pure and active love for the poor there is God also, I see God in every thread that I draw on the spinning-wheel.

Why Should YOU Spin?

So much for *my* conception of the spinning-wheel. If you can accept my viewpoint, then nothing more remains to be desired. But it is likely that it may not be acceptable to you. Even then there is a host of reasons why you should spin. I give below only a few of them:

1. You can make others spin only if you spin yourself.

2. You can, by yourself spinning and giving your yarn to the All-India Spinners' Association, in the end help to make possible a reduction in the prices of khadi.

3. By learning to spin, you can now or at any future time, whenever you may wish, help the propaganda of spinning. Experience has shown that those who are ignorant even of the alpha and omega of the art of spinning are of no use for such work.

4. If you will yourself spin, the quality of spinning will improve. Those who spin for wages must naturally be impatient. They will continue to spin the count that they are accustomed to. The task of improving the count of yarn essentially belongs to the research worker, the lover of spinning. This has been proved by experience. If there had not arisen a class of spinners, including both men and women, who spin purely out of a spirit of service,

the amazing progress that has been achieved in the quality of yarn would not have been possible.

5. If you spin, your talents can be utilized in effecting improvements in the mechanism of the spinning-wheel. All the improvements that have been made in the mechanism of the spinning-wheel and the speed of spinning up till now are solely due to the efforts of those devoted workers who spin for sacrifice.

6. The ancient art of India is today gradually suffering extinction. Its revival to a very large extent depends on the revival of hand-spinning. That there is art in spinning, those who have practised it as a sacrament know well enough. During the Satyagraha Week, the spinners would not tire of spinning at all. Of course, one of the reasons why they did not feel any weariness was certainly the spirit in which they had undertaken it. But, if there were no art in spinning, if there were no music in it, it would have become impossible for those young men who span for twenty-two and a half hours out of twenty-four. It should be borne in mind in this connection that these spinners were not induced to the effort by hope of gaining any prize. The spinning was its own reward.

7. In our country manual labour is regarded as a low occupation. Our poets have gone so far as to describe the happy rich as never having to touch mother earth at all, so much so that hair begins to grow on the soles of their feet! Thus the highest function (body labour) to which a man is born and with which, the sages tell us, Brahma created him, we have in fact looked down upon as something mean and degrading. We should spin therefore if only to guard against the pernicious tendency of regarding the toilers as being low in the social scale. Spinning is therefore as obligatory on the prince as on the peasant.

To the Juveniles

All the foregoing reasons apply to you irrespective of the sex to which you belong. But there are some additional reasons why you in particular should spin. It is to these that I now want to draw your attention:

1. How nice it would be for you to labour for the poor from your childhood: spinning will nourish your sense of philanthropy in the right way.

2. If you do your spinning at a fixed time every day you will develop in you the sense of regularity. For, if you are regular in spinning, you will try to be regular in other things also, and it is the universal experience that a boy with regular habits

does twice the amount of work that a boy does who works irregularly.

3. It will develop your sense of tidiness; for, without tidiness, good yarn cannot be spun at all. You will have to keep your slivers clean, your hands likewise clean and free from perspiration. You will have to see also that the place around you is free from dust, etc. After spinning you will have to wind your yarn tidily on the winding frame, then carefully spray it and finally make it into a neat fine hank.

4. It will enable you to learn how to effect repairs in a simple machine. Ordinarily boys and girls of India are not given this training. If you are lazy and get your servant or some older relative to clean your wheel for you, you will miss this training; but I have taken it for granted that every child who sends or will send his yarn to the All-India Spinners' Association is fond of his wheel. Besides, a boy who does his spinning with interest will master all the details about the various parts of his spinning-wheel. A carpenter always cleans his own tools. And, just as a carpenter who does not know how to clean his own tools can hardly be ranked as a carpenter, similarly, a boy who cannot prepare his own *mal* (winding string), make his own *sari* (composition applied to the spindle where the *mal* touches it) or prepare his spindle-holders, can hardly be called a spinner; he is only the travesty of a spinner.

Young India, 20-5-1926

377. NOTES

"PRANA-PRATISHTHA" INTO THE BHILS

Shri Amritlal proposes once again to hold a fair for the Bhils[1] on the forthcoming Rama-navami[2] day. On that occasion a temple to Ramachandra is to be declared open, that is, there will be *prana-pratishtha*[3] into the idol of Rama. Why may we not call it *prana-pratishtha* into the Bhils? Shri Amritlal has shown us our duty towards them. We hardly ever accept them as human beings. The Government has also classified them as a scheduled tribe. Thus neither society nor the Government takes interest in them. These so-called uncivilized communities are bound to attract

[1] A tribe in Western and Central India

[2] Birth-anniversary of Rama

[3] Invocation of life

the attention of the missionaries, for it is the latter's duty to get recruits for the Christian Army. I do not regard such proselytization as a real service to dharma. But how can we blame the missionaries, if the Hindus take no interest in the Bhils? For to them anyone who is brought into the Christian fold, no matter how, has become a Christian, has entered a new life and become civilized. If, as a result of such conversion, the converts rise spiritually or morally, I personally would have nothing to say against their conversion. But I do not think that this is what happens. I, therefore, say that the *prana-pratishtha* into the idol in this temple will in fact be *prana-pratishtha* into the Bhils themselves, for I suppose that they will from that time onwards understand the holy power of the name Rama, will feel God's presence and resolve to give up eating meat and drinking and be filled with new life. The building of the temple, however, is but the beginning of our service to them, not its end. There are many things we can do to serve them; but workers are few, and that is our misfortune.

Hardship Suffered by a Worker Serving "Antyajas"

A worker serving *Antayajas* writes:[1]

This is no ordinary problem for him. We cannot compliment the young man enough for his determination. If he remains firm in his decision and exercises self-control, God Himself will help him in his difficulty. Only if we emerge successful from such ordeals do we prove our sincerity in practising dharma and preserving it.

The correspondent seems to belong to the Vaisya class. It is our good fortune that workers serving the cause of *Antyajas* come mostly from the higher castes. *Varnashrama* is a part of dharma, but not so the hundreds of sub-divisions of communities which exist today. They are merely a matter of custom, and the custom has proved harmful in many ways. Custom can be, ought to be, reformed. If the correspondent does in fact belong to the Vaisya class, and if he shows courage enough to look for a partner outside the particular sub-caste to which he belongs, he will have a large field to choose from. It is very necessary that people should follow a new custom and enter into marriage alliances among the sub-divisions of the major castes of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. That is, marriages should be permitted in cricles among which, under the rules of *Varnashrama* inter-dining is permitted. This

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had described his difficulty in finding a life partner for him because he was working among *Antyajas*.

worker should acquaint the *mahajan*[1] of his sub-caste with his story and his abilities. If he receives no help from that quarter, he should not give way to despair or get angry but should narrate the same facts to the *mahajan* of all Vaisya communities in Gujarat and seek their help. If he has any worth in him, I am confident that he will not be forced to violate any reasonable social restriction but will get the help he needs.

This and all other public workers in a similar predicament should be very careful that, if they are engaged in the service of *Antyajas* or in any other service in a purely religious spirit, no matter what they have to put up with, they should never resort to untruth or get angry, that is, commit violence. If they adhere to truth and observe such limited non-violence, they will win credit for themselves and bring glory to their dharma and their country, and will be able to solve the problem at the cost of minimum of suffering. This worker, therefore, should publish the facts of his case without any exaggeration.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 18-4-1926

378. *ASSORTED QUESTIONS*[–*I*][2]

May a Vow Be Violated?

A gentleman writes:[3]

A vow can always be taken in regard to a good thing. There can never be a pledge to do an evil act. If anyone takes such a vow through ignorance, it becomes his duty to break it. For example, if a man takes a vow to act immorally, his awakening and his purification lie in his renouncing such a pledge. It is a sin to observe it.

[1] Traditional representative body looking after the affairs of a community or a professional or business group

[2] These appeared in five instalments in *Navajivan* on March 21 and 28 and April 4, 11 and 18, and have been placed together under the date of the last instalment. In his introductory note, Mahadev Desai writes: "The questions have been taken from Gandhiji's mail. The gist of the questions is given in my words, the replies in Gandhiji's own words."

[3] The correspondent had asked whether it would be proper to violate a pledge which one had taken in a moment of mental weakness or if he discovered after a few days of observing it that he had committed a mistake in taking it.

To Remarry or Participate in National Service?

A perplexed gentleman writes:[1]

There are some ailments for which time itself provides remedies. In the meantime, we should be at peace with ourselves. If your decision is unalterable and if you are determined not to marry until you have chosen your field of work and made arrangements for earning your living, you should politely and firmly inform your elders of your decision. They will be pleased. If your mind is not made up to that extent and deep within you there is a desire to get married, it is good to listen to your elders. There is no doubt that it is difficult for a widower of a wealthy family to avoid remarriage. He alone can avoid it to whom remarriage is like a blow on the head.

Hence my advice is that you should sit in a solitary place and think with a calm mind, and thereafter act in accordance with the response you get from your heart. I can merely point out the way. When taking a decision, you should fearlessly follow the dictates of your conscience regardless of the advice given by me or by others.

Should the Nose and Ears Be Pierced?

I regard it as barbarous to pierce any part of a young girl's body.

Who Should Be Given a Reply?

A gentleman writes:[2]

I have gone through the handbill. There is no doubt that it is highly obnoxious. However, my advice is that no thought whatever should be given to it. Such matters receive some importance if they are replied to. And such statements are made merely in order to gain publicity. If I consider it proper to clarify anything, I shall do so when an occasion arises.

To a Lawyer[3]

I have received your letter. Many remedies can be suggested to you if only you forget the fact that you have become

[1] The correspondent had asked for advice whether he should remarry in accordance with the wishes of his elders or engage himself in national service.

[2] The correspondent had sent a handbill in which certain statements made by Gandhiji had been misinterpreted and had said that someone would be considerably harmed if Gandhiji did not reply to it.

[3] A qualified lawyer had become ill, could not earn his living, felt helpless and asked Gandhiji to guide him.

a lawyer. But can you be asked to undertake manual labour? You yourself can spin, make others spin, card and make others card; will you be interested in such activities? Will you be satisfied with earning a living in the same way as a labourer? All my remedies are as simple as they are difficult. However, write to me if you can live the life of a labourer.

To a Patient[1]

It is difficult to advise you without seeing you. But I can, at any rate, make the following suggestions, many of which you will be able to put into practice:

As far as possible, try to remain in fresh air. Take the lightest possible diet, just enough to keep the body functioning but not enough to stuff your stomach. Give up all spices. If you do have to take any dal, eat a very small quantity of it. Give up altogether all fatty, fried and indigestible food. Take a little regular light exercise every morning and evening.

Keep good company only. By good company I mean the company of noble men and good books and by good books I mean clean books.

If you have not become physically very weak, you should bathe in cold water every day.

Keep your mind and body engaged in good work during all waking hours.

Go to bed early and leave your bed at four o'clock every morning. At this hour, read and reflect upon the *Bhagavad Gita* or the *Ramayana* or any such book in which you have unwavering faith.

Do this much and completely give up the idea of marriage. It is totally erroneous to believe that marriage is essential for the purpose of leading a pure life.

Yarn by Way of Subscription

Your suggestion that yarn spun by you should be accepted as subscription for *Young India* is indeed novel. No rule has been laid down in this matter and there are no arrangements in the office of *Young India* to receive yarn by way of subscription. However, if you send me 50,000 yards of well-twisted yarn of twenty counts, I shall request the manager of *Young India* to accept it in place of subscription, that is, the Ashram will purchase it and remit

[1] The correspondent, a student, had ruined his health through bad habits, and asked for Gandhiji's advice.

the amount to the office of *Young India*. The rate of 50,000 yards is more than the price and not less, but it is not possible to decide upon taking yarn worth exactly five rupees.

The yarn has to be examined and tested, only then can it be accepted. If you decide to send yarn, please send it in hanks of 500 yards each, because if there is any difficulty in counting and testing it, it will not be accepted in lieu of subscription, but if you so desire, it will be returned to you at your own expense.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 21-3-1926

379. ASSORTED QUESTIONS [-II]

USE QUININE REGULARLY![1]

I do not take quinine now. Have you had it proved that a man has got rid of malaria permanently through quinine or do you know of any such instance? During fever, I had taken quinine in small doses for three or four days. Now of course the fever has left me. The doctor gave a few injections too. I did not know to what extent they would benefit me. But instead of having a long argument, I took them.

WHY DID I TAKE QUININE?[2]

The bad effects of quinine that you have enumerated result from large doses taken over a long time. As a matter of fact, I had taken it only in doses of five grains each and never more than ten grains a day. This too I took dissolved in lemon juice, soda and water. I certainly did not take more than thirty grains in the course of five days. On four days I took only five grains a day. After taking this much of quinine, I experienced no bad effects and, what is more, I was able to please many friends and doctors who urged me to take doses of fifteen grains.

Moreover, one should not thus blindly oppose quinine, as its usefulness as a means of saving oneself from malaria even for a short spell is obvious. If the people save themselves for the

[1] A friend had advised Gandhiji to keep on taking quinine regularly even after his illness was over as the germs of malaria could be killed that way alone.

[2] Another friend, a champion of nature cure, felt deeply hurt that Gandhiji had taken quinine.

time being from the terrible effects of malaria they do not bother about the evil effects which may make their appearance later. Hence the attack must be direct and it must be established that there is no benefit at all from quinine.

I took quinine for the same reasons for which I had undergone an operation[1] while I was in jail. I had to undergo the operation under pressure of the jail authorities. Then imagine what must have been the extent of the pressure exerted by friends' love while taking quinine. But this much is true that had I not been convinced that my consenting to the operation was the result of my weakness, I would not have had even the operation. But that weakness has resulted from an imperfect faith in what you call nature cure. Moreover, the method of that treatment has certainly not been perfected. If you have anything in mind besides nature cure, it is faith in God and hence the feeling that whatever happens should be witnessed and borne. I have not yet reached that state. One can go in that direction only through effort. We cannot attain this thing like clothes which we can put on when we wish, nor can we have the assurance through argument that the Protector of the world always protects us. It can only be had through *darshan*.

ANOTHER CLARIFICATION[2]

Please tell the friend from Burma that though I had taken injections of iron and arsenic, I still wish to stick to my views indicated in my article on medicines and doctors. It is one thing to have an ideal and another to be able to observe it. Today my friends say that I have no authority over my body at all, that it belongs to the nation, that they and the others have as much right as I have to take interest in its well-being, and convince me by their beautiful argument that I am merely a trustee for the protection of my body, and that I have a right to cherish it. Therefore, if friends like the one from Burma see a contradiction between my ideal and my conduct, you should tell them that until they become mahatmas like me, they should firmly stick to the resolve not to touch medicines and to call in doctors. And if they stick to that straight and difficult path, they will ensure their welfare. Tell them in private even this that though I have acceded to my friends' plea, I have taken only thirty grains of quinine in five days and only five injections in five weeks.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXIII, pp. 189-92.

[2] This was in reply to yet another friend.

YOU LIKE A BLOUSE BUT NOT A SARI[1]

Your letter to hand. Since you like blouses made of khadi, will you not now pass on to saris? Why do native people develop a fascination for foreign clothes? If our country is dear to us, we ought to like its products. Can one who does not like cloth woven and spun by the hands of the poor people of India be regarded as the offspring of India?

WHERE SHOULD A KHADI BHAVAN BE BUILT?[2]

Your letter to hand as also the appeal. You say that no work is being done in your district, that the workers regard themselves as all-knowing and act foolishly. What is the use of constructing a building in these circumstances? How can I consent to it? Will people be less foolish after the construction of a building? Or will they acquire the urge for service? A Bhavan must be constructed where the number of workers is increasing, all the rules are being observed, all the workers enjoy the confidence of the people, there is mutual trust among all, and all live unitedly. My clear advice to you is that until efficient workers join together, you do not even think of having a Bhavan.

GOING TO PURI FOR A CHANGE OF AIR[3]

If it is only going to the seaside for a change of air, why should I go to Puri? Shall I not go to a small hamlet which is near my birth-place? In Puri the bungalows frown on the one hand and, on the other hand, the famine-stricken people swarm the temple for a handful of dirty rice from the pilgrims. How can Puri give me the peace and the benefit of rural life which I get nearer home? It is not only that Puri reminds me of our terrible degradation today as well as sacred events of former times, but it has now become the health resort of soldiers who are paid by us to suppress our freedom. All these thoughts make me sad. When I was there, though my friends had placed me in an attractive spot on the seashore and had overwhelmed me with love, I was not at home there. How could they devise a remedy for the mental affliction which I suffered from thoughts of the soldiers'

[1] A young lady had written that she liked wearing a blouse made of khadi, but not a sari of the same material.

[2] While complaining of the slow progress of khadi, the secretary of a district committee had asked Gandhiji to get Rs. 5,000 from the Khadi Board for a Khadi Bhavan building for his district.

[3] This is in reply to a sister who had invited Gandhiji to Jagannathpuri for a change of air.

barracks there, and of those Oriyas dying of hunger amid the hard-hearted rich of that place?

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 28-3-1926

380. ASSORTED QUESTIONS[-III]

A Lawyer's Dilemma

There is nothing wrong in living happily by taking the name of Rama. If one cannot earn wealth, it is nothing to grieve over. You alone can know whether you are able to practise your dharma or not. What you have said about the camel forcing its way in while you are trying to drive away the goat is not applicable here. It is a grave error to suppose that nocturnal discharges are more enfeebling than the sexual act. Both of these lead to loss of vigour; very often the sexual act causes greater debility. But through force of tradition we are not able to recognize the enjoyment of sex and nocturnal discharge gives us a mental shock. Hence we believe that we have become more enfeebled than we actually have been. Perhaps it has not escaped your attention that such involuntary discharges can take place even while one continues to indulge in the sexual act. Therefore, if you accept the value of celibacy and cherish the desire to practise it, you should continue its practice without worrying about the discharges which take place despite continuous effort to check them. It is difficult to say when you will gain control over your mind after putting *brahmacharya* into actual practice for a length of time, as there is no uniform time limit for all persons. A longer or shorter period of time must elapse according to the capacity of each individual. Some persons cannot gain this control throughout their lives; nevertheless they certainly reap the invaluable fruit of *brahmacharya* which they have practised in their conduct and they become masters in future of bodies which are able to control their minds.

In my opinion, it is not necessary for a husband to seek his wife's consent for the practice of *brahmacharya*, nor is it *vice versa*. It is desirable that the two should assist each other in this matter. It is proper to attempt to get this co-operation. But regardless of whether this consent is obtained or not, the one who desires it should practise it and both would reap its benefits. Consent may not be necessary for eschewing union, but consent of both is

necessary for union. The man who indulges in the sexual act without his wife's consent is guilty of the sin of using force. He violates the laws of both God and the world.

Piercing Nose and Ears a Rite Enjoined by Shastras!

I have not heard of the Vedic ritual of having the nose and the ears pierced. But even if it is proved that it is a Vedic rite, I would say that this should not be done, just as human sacrifices cannot be offered today. I know of many men who suffered from hydrocele although their ears had been pierced. Innumerable men who had [not] had their noses or ears pierced have remained free from this complaint. This is a well-known fact. Further I also know that hydrocele has been cured without resorting to the piercing of ears. The sentence that you have quoted from a doctor states that it seems that this practice had been recently introduced. When we have faith in three individuals, and when they differ in their views, we should either exercise our own judgment or follow the one in whom we have the greatest faith.

Birth in Lower Species

It is indeed my belief that the soul after having been born in the human form can so degrade itself as to be born even in the form of an animal or plant.

Love or Dharma?[1]

You alone can resolve the dilemma which faces you. If you feel that renouncing a meat diet is the dharma for you, you should firmly refuse to yield to your mother's love. If doing so is merely a kind of experiment, hurting your mother's feelings will be regarded as a sin.

Lovers' Problem[2]

Where there is pure love, there is no room for impatience. Such love cannot be physical but only spiritual. Physical love is nothing but lust. Restrictions of caste are more important than this. Spiritual love will brook no barriers. But that love involves *tapascharya* and so great is the patience required, that

[1] The correspondent, a Muslim youth, abhorred meat but did not wish to displease his mother who wanted him to take it.

[2] The correspondents—a young man and a woman belonging to different castes—were in love and wished to get married, but without displeasing their elders.

It does not matter even if the separation lasts until death. Your first task is to put your problem before your elders and listen to them and think over what they say. Finally, your dharma is to listen to the dictates of your own conscience after purifying it through the observance of self-control.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-4-1926

331. *ASSORTED QUESTIONS[-IV]*

"SHRADDHA" AND LIBERATION

I maintain an attitude of neutrality towards *shraddha*. If it does have any spiritual utility, I do not know it. I do not understand too how a departed person is benefited through *shraddha*. A sort of religious sentiment may grow by immersing the ashes of the dead in the Ganga, but if there is any other advantage in doing so, I am ignorant of that too.

In my opinion, the story of king Sagar is an allegory, it is not a historical tale. What I said in regard to repeating the name of Narayana is said with the intention of increasing one's faith. I cannot be convinced of the truth of the story that a person who repeats that *mantra* without understanding its meaning, simply because his son's name happens to be Narayana, would attain liberation; but if anyone in whose heart Narayana dwells repeats this *mantra*, he will certainly attain *moksha* because of it.

DHARMA OF MARRIED PEOPLE[1]

The couple who you say overindulge in the gratification of their desires do not practise the dharma of husband and wife. I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that such persons are even worse than animals. A girl of twelve or thirteen is incapable of observing the dharma of a wife. He who maintains sexual intercourse with her is guilty of a grave sin.

I did not know the fact that you have mentioned about a woman who is in her menses. I cannot accept the dharma that after four days she must have intercourse with a man. So long as the menstrual flow continues, I regard her touch as something that a husband must renounce. After it has ceased, I do not

[1] The correspondent had written about the absence of self-control among married people and asked Gandhiji to remove the false belief that the sexual act was a duty.

see any harm in their union if both of them desire to have children.

A Woman during Her Menstrual Period and One Who Has just Delivered a Child

The menstrual period is a monthly ailment for women. During this, the patient requires a great deal of peace, and association with a lustful man is dangerous to her.

The same rule applies to a woman who has just delivered a child and she is given rest for at least twenty days. I believe that this is a very good practice. But it is going too far when even female relatives are not allowed to come into physical contact with her.

A Teacher's Questions[1]

1. You can teach best by identifying yourself with your students. In order to do so, the teacher must prepare himself fully in the subject he has to teach.
2. If you read the *Gita* and the *Ramayana* and reflect on them, you will get all you need.
3. Wheat, milk and green vegetables should suffice mostly as diet. It is essential to give up spices and oil.
4. You should drink a little milk in the evening if you feel very hungry and, in case you cannot digest it, take an orange, grapes or some such raw fruit. You should vigorously walk as much as possible in the open air, morning and evening.
5. In order to purify one's heart and attain concentration, it is very helpful to read and reflect upon the above books and to repeat the name of Rama when one is not engaged in any good work.
6. We should continue to make efforts and have faith that these efforts must produce results.
7. The total destruction of passions and emotions is the only way to catch a glimpse of the Self.

[1] Briefly, they were: 1. How to teach in the best possible manner? 2. What should be read for one's ultimate good? 3. What is the best diet? 4. Tea used to give me headache, so I gave it up and started missing one meal. Why is it that whereas I feel hungry in the evening, I feel heavy in the morning? 5. What are the ways of attaining concentration? 6. If you have not been able to hear the inner voice, how then can I hear it? 7. How does one get a glimpse of God? 8. Can one find peace through activity?

8. The highest degree of peace can certainly be attained through noble activity.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-4-1926

332. *ASSORTED QUESTIONS[-V]*

What then Shall We Do?[1]

Shri Manilal Kothari gave me your message. How nice it would be if I could give something inspiring and definite and working at lightning speed! But in the conditions of today I have nothing of that kind to offer. There have been many meetings, resolutions and motions opposing such imprisonments in the Legislative Assembly. Now we must do something in which we can feel our strength. Therefore nothing else than boycott of foreign cloth occurs to me and that boycott is impossible of achievement without khadi.

In effect, nothing but the spinning-wheel strikes me as a remedy against all our ills like imprisonment, etc. But how can I convince the people that it is an unfailing remedy? I must say that my faith in it is immutable, it increases with every passing day. Hence we plied the spinning-wheel day and night for seven days during the National Week and did so with the confidence that some day we shall derive such strength from the spinning-wheel that through it we shall be able some day to realize our heart's desire.

Of course, apart from the spinning-wheel, there is another way and that is the way of violence. But I am not capable of it and, what is more, I have no faith in it. Moreover, since I am a man of practical sense, I know that our violence will be nothing compared to the violence of the Government. Hence I have given up all other remedies and have put out to sea trusting to the boat of my spinning-wheel. I invite all those who like you feel confused to come and sit with me in my boat. Have firm faith in my assurance that this boat will definitely take us to the other shore, but it will need all our strength, organizational power and discipline to row it across.

[1] Sarat Chandra Bose, brother of Subhas Chandra Bose, who was held in Mandalay Prison, though innocent, had asked whether they could do nothing to get him released, as all constitutional methods had failed to secure freedom for such prisoners. Gandhiji sent him this message.

Jallianwala Bagh[1]

The site was purchased out of the money collected for the Jallianwala Bagh. The ground has been cleared. A garden has been laid out. No temple has been built as conditions in India are unfavourable at present. When we are destroying the foundation for our freedom, how can we erect a grand temple upon it? I believe the trustees hesitate to build any temple at all because of thoughts like these.

A careful account is maintained of the money left after the purchase of the land and the details of the account are being regularly sent to the trustees from time to time through the secretary and are also published.

Non-violence[2]

Have I not seen such violence being committed? Very often I have seen a lizard hunting a cockroach and the latter hunting other insects. But I have never considered it my duty to oppose the law of the animal world —"An insect sustains an insect's life"[3]. I do not profess to unravel the dark mysteries of God, but seeing such violence often, I feel that the law of animals and of the lower orders of creation is not the law of man. Man has to make a determined effort to conquer and kill the animal within him and thus keep alive his soul. We have to learn the great magical formula of non-violence out of the conflagration of violence raging around us. Therefore, if man realizes his own dignity and understands his life-work, he should himself refrain from participating in violence and prevent inferior creatures as also animals under his control from tormenting one another. He can maintain that ideal only as far as he himself is concerned and if nothing else is possible, he can at any rate refrain from tormenting his brethren who are weaker than himself. And even to maintain that ideal fully, he will certainly have to keep up his endeavours day and night unceasingly. Then will he be able some day to reach it. Full success will only come when man attains *moksha* and wins release from all the limitations to which the body is heir.

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[1] A correspondent had asked Gandhiji what had been done with the funds collected for the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial.

[2] A correspondent observed that he often saw small creatures swallowing one another, a lizard catching insects and a cat catching birds, and had asked whether he could be just a passive witness or kill the potential killer and prevent violence.

[3] A Sanskrit saying

PRINCIPLES AND VOWS[1]

Even if I am not able fully to implement the ideas expressed in *Hind Swaraj*, I think there is nothing wrong in claiming that those ideas are correct. The maxim you quote can certainly not be applied to me because I do not excuse myself but wholly acknowledge my fault.

Where a distinction is made between making a resolve and taking a vow, only taking a vow is worth while. A resolve which can be broken cannot be regarded as a resolve. It has no value at all.

CONCENTRATION[2]

Concentration of mind can be brought about by practice. One can practise concentration by losing oneself in good and desirable activity. As for example, with single-minded devotion, someone serves a patient, someone serves the *Antyajas*, another plies the spinning-wheel and yet another propagates khadi. One can achieve concentration of mind by repeating *Ramanama* with faith.

MONOPOLY OF REFORM[3]

You have of course floored me. I have undertaken the monopoly only of improving one person and that is myself. And I know how difficult it is to improve that person. Now need I answer your questions?

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 18-4-1926

[1] A correspondent had asked that since Gandhiji himself was not able to observe the principles laid down by him in his book, *Hind Swaraj*, in regard to railways, milk and medicines, why he should insist on sticking to them. Further, he had also asked if it was not enough if one made a resolve to do something; was it necessary to take a vow?

[2] A correspondent had asked for some ways of achieving concentration of mind.

[3] A Muslim had argued that since Gandhiji had said somewhere that a man's soul might go into an animal's womb; would they not be worshipping a sinner by worshipping a cow since his soul might have gone into her womb? He had requested Gandhiji for a reply as in his opinion the latter had taken up the monopoly of improving the universe.

383. STATEMENT ON POSTPONEMENT OF MUSSOORIE VISIT

AHMEDABAD,
April 18, 1926

Jamnalalji and friends who were interested in sending me to a hill station, having observed the progress I have made in regaining my old strength since my last illness and knowing also my own intentions, have decided not to press me to go to Mussoorie as has been announced already, unless there is any danger of a relapse.

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-4-1926

384. LETTER TO GANDHI ASHRAM, BANARAS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 19, 1926

DEAR FRIENDS,

I had hoped to be able to disengage Kripalaniji from the Vidyapith work and restore him wholly to you. But we have all felt helpless. It is not possible to spare him for the time being. It may be impossible to free him for two years. In our national life, two years is a long time whilst we are all impatient, quite naturally, to regain our freedom. I give you my assurance that if an opportunity occurs to free Kripalaniji earlier, I shall do so with all my heart, for, I know how valuable your work is and how necessary it is for him to be continually in your midst if your labours are to bear much ampler fruit than hitherto. I hope therefore you will make the path far smooth for Kripalaniji in order to enable him to organize the work here.

Yours sincerely,

GANDHI ASHRAM
BENARES

From a photostat: S.N. 19476

385. LETTER TO WILLIAM DOULL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 19, 1926

DEAR MR. DOULL,

Sorabji has seen me regarding his difficulties. As you know he is heavily in debt. He wants assistance from his father's estates by way of loan without interest but with full security. The security he will describe himself. Sorabji tells me and I believe him that his father would have discharged his debt if he was alive and if Sorabji had decided to marry. He tells me that Mr. Rustomjee actually made that promise some time before his death, so anxious he was for him to be married. Sorabji has been now engaged and he has wisely deferred the marriage till he is free from his debts.

I observe that under a section of the trust deed, the trustees are empowered to remit to me such sums as they may deem necessary to be utilized by me as I choose. I have not studied the deed carefully nor do I regard myself competent to judge whether I can legally make use of the funds placed at my disposal under the trust and as proposed. But if in your opinion I can legally do so and majority of the trustees would approve of it, I would not only be prepared but would like to accommodate Sorabji, for I know his father would like me to do so if he was alive.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19477

386. LETTER TO A TRUSTEE FOR PARSI RUSTOMJEE

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 19, 1926

You rarely write to me but as I also do likewise I suppose I must not complain. I was happy to hear personally from Sorabji all the good news about you and your business.

This is written to tell you that I would like to help Sorabji in the manner proposed by him if it is at all possible. You will see from a copy of my letter to Mr. Doull what is proposed. Please see if the thing can be at all done.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19477

387. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

[*April 19, 1926*][1]

SHRI DEVCHANDBHAI,

I hear from Shri Fulchand that your elder[2] brother passed away. Need I offer condolences? We naturally desire our near and dear ones to be with us for ever. But are our wishes ever fulfilled? Besides, if only we can leave off being selfish we would see that we have no reason to grieve over death, which is inevitable and also life-giving. I know you do not need to be taught this truth. But I think I may remind you of it at this hour.

There has been no reply from Porbandar.

I have given up the idea of going to Mussoorie.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5709

388. LETTER TO SIR HENRY LAWRENCE[3]

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
AHMEDABAD,
April 20, 1926

DEAR SIR HENRY LAWRENCE,

I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 16th instant. If there is no hurry about our meeting, I would wait on you when the season is over and you have normally returned to Poona or Bombay. But in no case could I think of troubling you to come down to Poona, especially for a talk. If therefore you think that we should meet early, I should leave here on the 6th May and reach there as early as the railway and the motor service will bring

[1] From the postmark

[2] Not the elder but the younger brother, Hemchand

[3] This is an enclosure to a letter, dated 22-4-1926, from Sir Henry Lawrence, Governor of Bombay, to the Viceroy, Lord Irwin. Sir Henry had invited Gandhiji for a discussion on the welfare of ryots, preparatory to the proposed Royal Commission on Agriculture, and offered to come to Poona if this suited Gandhiji better.

me. Having never been to Mahabaleshwar, I do not know the time-table.

I need hardly add that I could not in any way be identified with the Royal Commission on Agriculture. Apart from my strong views about the system of Government, I lost my faith in Commissions long ago.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Halifax Papers. Courtesy: India Office Records

389. LETTER TO D. V. RAMASWAMI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 20, 1926

MY DEAR RAMASWAMI,

I have your notes on Hanumantharao's life. They are interesting but they must not be published and in no case can I write a preface to a thing which contains a criticism of or an attack against the Servants of India Society. My advice to you is not to publish anything at all unless you can bring out something readable about Hanumantharao without introducing any controversial matters. It would be better not to publish anything at all or be satisfied with a newspaper article. If you wish the copy you have sent me to be returned, you shall kindly ask for it and I shall kindly return the same.

Yours sincerely.

SJT. D. V. RAMASWAMI
VIZAGAPATAM

From a microfilm: S.N. 19478

390. *LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 20, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your two letters. I note what you say about Utkal. I am now going through the papers Niranjan Babu has sent me.

Your Patna visit I regard as quite a success. Even from the point of view of collections, it is the small collections which will be our mainstay in the long run. Hundred rupees therefore is a good beginning.

I never mentioned to you that I got your impromptu bow made in the train with which you carded your cotton for the *takli*. It is a good contrivance. The beauty of hand-spinning lies in our ability to use trifles as our instruments. That is more suited to the genius of our nation. The art in them is in the brain and in the hand, never in the instrument.

How is Hemaprabhadevi? Is she keeping well? Does she ever think of the Ashram? My visit to Mussoorie is cancelled. Jamnalalji was not sure that he was quite right in taking me away. I myself never [felt] the need. On the contrary [I] felt that my running to Mussoorie was not in keeping with my life-view. And as nobody could say profitably what was the correct thing, toss was decided upon. The result was against Mussoorie. So it stands finally cancelled, unless a crisis overtakes me, though my view would still remain unchanged that I must mend my body in Sabarmati or if God wills otherwise then end it here.

Yours,

From a photostat: S.N. 19479

391. LETTER TO S. V. PHADNIS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 20, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I shall do what I can in connection with your letter. Though I do not wish to enter into any newspaper controversy, I do not at all subscribe to the charge that I have stood in the way of compromise. Regarding khadi my own personal opinion is that the khadi obligation should on no account be waived but there too mine is only one vote.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. V. PHADNIS
423, WALKESHWAR ROAD
BOMBAY-6

From a microfilm: S.N. 19480

392. LETTER TO MITHUBEHN PETIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Chaitra Sud 8 [April 20, 1926][1]

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. I had offered to send you khadi at a loss, if necessary. If, therefore, you felt that Bombay khadi was rather costly I would have paid part of the bill. Enclosed is another bill for the khadi sent to you from the Ashram. Have you any complaint against that khadi? You may always take it that if any article received from the Ashram does not answer to your requirement or is costly, it can most certainly be returned. Even if you have accepted it, you should let me know in case you notice any defect in it.

You must have seen in the papers that my trip to Mussoorie has been cancelled. The National Council of Women must obtain a first class testimonial. Neither you nor I can be satisfied with a second class. Please send no honey for the present. Perhaps I

[1] The year is inferred from the mention of cancellation of trip to Mussoorie.

myself may have to go to Mahabaleshwar for two or three days. I shall let you know if this is decided. Kindly mention it to no one now. Yes, you are right, strawberries cannot arrive here safely all this distance. You should improve your health to very much better than it is now.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 10890

393. *LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Chaitra Sud 8 [*April 20, 1926*]

BHAISHRI KAKA,

I got one-half of your letter, that is the one giving news of your health; the other half, I believe, is to follow. Since I have not written to you for quite a few days, I think I should dictate something just now.

If the doctor has specially recommended olive oil I do not wish to argue against it; otherwise I think it would be best to give it up. The olive oil which I get locally did not agree with me at all. I don't mean olive oil produced in India; the country does not produce any. That which we get here is imported from Italy or Spain and it is rarely fresh. Besides, it is also found that oil and ghee do not require the same length of time for digestion and also that the processes through which they are digested are different from each other. It may, therefore, be better to discontinue olive oil. Indeed, what you say about a *vaid's* drugs is true. It is a kind of quick remedy. It seems you use the language of Sidney Smith when you say that Dr. Talwalkar has not received respect "from us". By "us" you mean both the writer and the person addressed, don't you? Or do you mean "you"? If all you mean is that he has not received due respect from me, you have needlessly dragged in Sidney Smith. Well, I plead guilty to the charge, my reason being that I have great respect for Dr. Talwalkar himself, but not for his knowledge. I have, therefore, called Kanuga every time. Between the two I would place my life in Kanuga's, hands. Dr. Talwalkar has gone crazy over "tubercle", as I have over the spinning-wheel. He sees tuberculosis in everyone. And I do not know why, but I simply cannot put faith in his injections. He has read extensively in medical science but I always felt that he has not digested what he has read. What should I do in these circumstances? He was here about ten days ago, when I expressed

to him my lack of faith in his approach. He promises to convert me if I give him sufficient time. But how can I spare all that time? So maybe, I ought to give up my scepticism. But the truth is that I have little faith in doctors as such, i.e., in the medical profession itself, and my distrust is daily increasing. They fail to discover the right remedies because they hunt for the laws of the body without any reference to the soul.

My trip to Mussoorie had to be cancelled. We drew lots the day before yesterday. Jamnalalji was not enthusiastic about taking me there. So we had to draw lots. Personally, I never believed that it was necessary for me to go to Mussoorie. How would I, then, decide on my own to go? And Jamnalalji was not prepared to take the responsibility. And I have always welcomed the idea that, in matters which do not involve a question of principle and when we cannot decide one way or the other, we may throw lots to know God's will.

Nanabhai has decided that Shankar should leave for Bhavnagar, latest on June 1. Swami is thinking about Bal. Chandrashankar just spoke to me about your letter to Bal. We can, therefore, decide only after discussing the matter with Swami.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

As regards cow's milk, I want to write not a letter but a book for you.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19481

394. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, April 20, 1926

BHAISHRI DEVCHANDBHAI,

Here is the letter from Diwan Saheb. It is now for him to decide when he will come. I suggest that you should yourself go over to Porbandar. You may tell him that you have read the accompanying letter. And since you will see him personally, I do not write to acknowledge the enclosed letter. Your going there in person will be as good as my doing so.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19482

395. LETTER TO PROFULLA CHANDRA MITRA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 21, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is a fact that in Dacca against a foreign mosquito-net I have no knowledge that a khaddar mosquito-net was rejected by any of my companions. I personally do not object to a foreign mosquito-net because I do not regard it as an article of clothing even as I do not object to a foreign umbrella though I should try to dispense with both and procure home-made articles. But the discarding of anything but foreign cloth is not a matter of religion with me. And I regard discarding of foreign cloth as a matter of religion because in my opinion foreign cloth is the supreme sign of our bondage. It is totally wrong to suggest that my companions do not allow poor people to see me, because I know myself that I was constantly surrounded by poor people all the time I was in Dacca.

I still believe as firmly as ever in all the boycotts of 1920 and 1921. The Congress has relaxed them as the Congress has a perfect right to do. Everyone who non-co-operated did so because he believed in its utility. Sacrifice is an indispensable condition of non-co-operation.

I am aware that many students, many lawyers and many others have suffered. That suffering has done them and the nation much good. Every non-co-operating student has plenty of scope for national service if he will but do it. A right use of charkha will certainly give him all his wants but he who does not believe in charkha may take up any other national service that commends itself to him.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. PROFULLA CHANDRA MITRA
NATIONAL MEDICAL INSTITUTE
DACCA

From a photostat: S.N. 19483

396. LETTER TO S. MEHTAH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 21, 1926

DEAR SIR,

You have enquired of me whether your brother Sheikh Amir Khan was a fellow passenger with me in 1896 on board s. s. *Courland* when I returned from India to Natal during that year. I have to state in reply that your said brother was a fellow passenger with me during that year.

Yours truly,

S. MEHTAH, ESQ.
222, GREY STREET
DURBAN

From a microfilm: S.N. 19484

397. LETTER TO B. SUBBA RAO

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 21, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Will you please answer the following questions? Are you married? If so, have you children? Do you want to live here alone? Can you do bodily labour? Are you keeping good health? Apart from your medical diploma, do you regard yourself as an all-round good physician? What is the meaning of describing yourself as 'Ophthalmic Surgeon'? Have you special qualifications in that direction?

Yours sincerely,

SJT. B. SUBBA RAO
OPHTHALMIC SURGEON
86, PILLAYAR KOIL ST.
TRIPLICANE, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 19485

398. WARNING TO YARN COLLECTORS

Much of the yarn that is delivered to the All-India Spinners' Association as subscription is collected by local volunteer collectors. Thereby much time, energy and expense are saved. But the collectors should be good spinners themselves. They must be able to distinguish good yarn from bad and know the different counts. For the value of the yarn can be immediately increased if the collectors know how to judge yarn and take the trouble of examining it before accepting it from subscribers. They have to take only such yarn as is evenly spun and made into standard strands, i.e., 4 ft. in length. The greater the attention paid to these details, the greater the chance of producing stronger khadi at cheaper rates. The spinners should bear in mind that the better they spin, the larger is their subscription to the Association. That is the beauty of having subscriptions in yarn. If collectors and subscribing spinners do their work carefully, they can double the value of subscription whilst it will mean no more work for the collectors or the spinners and certainly no more expense. Whereas, if the yarn is spun anyhow or packed anyhow, it throws a useless burden upon the Spinners' Association and means avoidable waste of national energy and capital.

Young India, 22-4-1926

399. WHAT TO DO

Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose sent me a message through Sjt. Manilal Kothari asking me to give some guidance as to what should be done or what Bengal in particular should do to secure the freedom of those who, without trial, without even being informed of the wrong they are supposed to have done, are kept under detention and treated as felons. It is not the freedom of our countrymen that Sjt. Bose wants, so much as a tangible and effective demonstration of the nation's sympathy for them. To him, rightly, the honour of Bengal, if not of India, is at stake so long as these brave patriots are kept under duress. I had no better reply to send him than the following.[1] I publish it because Sjt. Bose desired its publication.

Young India, 22-4-1926

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Sarat Chandra Bose", 9-4-1926 and "Assorted Questions [-V]", 18-4-1926, sub-title, "What then Shall We Do?".

400. DRUGS, DRINK AND DEVIL

Drugs and drink are the two arms of the devil with which he strikes his helpless slaves into stupefaction and intoxication. And according to an illuminating article[1] in *The Survey* on the two Opium Conferences at Geneva, opium, the chief among the drugs, "won". The writer says:

> Out of all the marching and counter-marching, the drawing of swords and putting up them again, the rumours of defeats and famous victories, the traffic in opium and other narcotic drugs has gained a new lease of life.

In the midst of confusion and chaos caused by the bewildering reports on behalf of the different nations, the writer says:

> The only people concerned who knew precisely what they wanted and did not want, and who were quite clear about and content with what they got, were those who in one way or another make profit out of the traffic in narcotics.

The writer adds:

> Especially during the World War, the campaign has been going almost by default. . . . Indeed, the War itself materially aggravated the evil. The widespread use of morphine and cocaine in the armies as anodynes against human agony, and to some extent as a means of mental relief from the deadly despairs and fears, disgusts and monotonies of war, turned loose at the end in many countries a considerable army of uncured and more or less incurable addicts to continue and spread their addiction. For, one of the awful concomitants of this vice is a kind of perverted missionary impulse to propagate itself by making new addicts.

This is one of the most deadly by-products of the late War. If it has destroyed millions of lives, it has also hastened the soul-deadening process. But Mr. Gavit, the writer, shows that during the thirteen years since the international agreement was registered in the Hague Convention "the character of the problem has changed greatly". Mr. Gavit can only speak from the European standpoint. Therefore, he says:

> The evil is no longer an exotic affair of the Far East, of the eating, drinking and smoking of the raw and prepared opium after the time-entrenched fashions of India, China and other oriental regions.

[1] Of which only excerpts are reproduced here

It has now resolved itself into the use

> of the more concentrated and far more injurious forms in the *high-power drugs*, manufactured in the expensively-equipped and scientifically-operated pharmaceutical laboratories of the lands which call themselves "civilized". Whereas in the former time the opium and the opium-habits of the Far East were creeping out into the West, now the flow is the other way. And that is not all: these drugs are equally deadly, and spreading ominously, in the countries where they are made, and across their borders to their neighbours . . . . The threat is against the welfare of all mankind. To this devil a white addict is as useful as a black or yellow; . . . His is a domain upon which the sun never sets.

The writer then touches "the heart of the evil" which is in "the *excess of production*" beyond the very legitimate needs of medicine and science. . . .

> Thus the world's production of narcotics is more than ten times the most extravagant estimate of the world's legitimate needs.

The writer shows that none of the great powers including America and Great Britain has seriously tackled the problem. He charges them with having broken the promise made under Article 9 of the Hague Convention—"to limit the manufacture of these substances to the *bona fide* needs of medicine and science." He deplores that these civilized nations have failed not merely to check the over-production of raw and prepared opium but have failed to check even the manufacture of the deadly drugs in the huge laboratories which are subject to licence and inspection and whose control is the easiest thing possible if there is only the will.

The readers who have studied the Assam Opium Report prepared at the instance of the Congress by Mr. Andrews' labours know the evil wrought by the opium-habit. They also know how the Government has failed egregiously to deal with the growing evil and how they have thwarted the efforts of reformers who tried to deal with it. It therefore did one's soul good to find that during the National Week, speakers at public meetings insisted upon the total prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs. It is a reform that is overdue. And, if it is at all worth going to the Councils, this total prohibition must be made a prominent plank in the electoral campaign. Every member must be pledged not merely to support but to initiate and pursue the total prohibition campaign, the only way to bring about total prohibition being to cut out from the military expenditure a portion equivalent to the revenue derived from this immoral source. The demand therefore for total

prohibition must go hand in hand with the demand for reduction in the military expenditure. Nor must the solution be delayed by plans of taking referendums. In India there can be no reason for any referendum because drink and drug-habits are universally recognized as a vice. Drink is not a fashion in India as it is in the West. To talk therefore of a referendum in India is to trifle with the problem.

Young India, 22-4-1926

401. NOTES

Jallianwala Bagh

A Karachi correspondent writes:

> You collected lacs for Jallianwala Bagh Memorial years ago. I was told that there would be a school building erected there. Can you now tell me what has happened to the fund? Has that site been bought at all? When will the temple of freedom be built there?

I was not prepared for the exhibition of ignorance which the foregoing questions betray. The writer should have known that the site where the massacre of the 13th April, 1919 took place was bought immediately after sufficient funds were collected. The site has been cleaned of all the rubbish heaps, levelled and there is to be seen a beautiful lawn there. A care-taker is in charge of it. The balance is deposited in trustworthy banks and interest accumulates year by year. It has not been possible to build anything upon it for the simple reason that there can be no temple of freedom built of bricks and mortar whilst we, Hindus and Mussalmans, are trying to cut each others' throats and undermining the very foundations of freedom. Monument, when it is erected, has to be a monument to commemorate the unity of all races and religions represented in India. It will be, when it comes, a demonstration of the people of India to vindicate their liberty and honour in the face of all odds. At the present moment if an attempt was made to erect a building, I doubt not that it will be an additional ground for cleavage instead of being used by all for binding us firmer together.

February Returns

The returns of production and sale of khadi for the month of February in several provinces are as follows:[1]

[1] Not reproduced here

The figures of Andhra are as usual incomplete, only 16 organizations having sent their report to the Provincial Office. The Bengal figures are those of the Pratishthan only, the figures of the Abhoy Ashram not having been received. Bombay is complete except for the Sandhurst Road Bhandar. In Delhi only the Hapur figures are given. Punjab and Tamil Nadu are complete and their sale figures have been corrected so as to avoid duplication. In Northern Maharashtra only the figures of the Jalgaon and Wardha Bhandars are given; and in Central Maharashtra only that of the Poona Bhandar.

The position in February is very much the same both as regards production and sale as in the previous month except in the case of Bombay which shows a large decrease in sales from Rs. 41,448 to Rs. 26,029. As compared with the figures for the corresponding month of the previous year, this year shows a notable increase especially in production. The production figures of some of the important provinces are as under:[1]

In sales, while Punjab and Utkal figures are very nearly the same as in the previous year, Bombay shows a decrease; but in Bengal, Bihar and Tamil Nadu the figures disclose remarkable progress. The figures are given below:[2]

I reiterate the hope that those centres that have not yet begun to send their returns regularly will do so without delay so as to enable the All-India Spinners' Association to publish as accurate returns as possible.

The growing decrease in the sales in Bombay compared to the increase in the other provinces requires careful study. There was a time when Bombay was the largest feeder for all khadi produced in India. It still retains an honourable position and second only to Tamil Nadu. The figures for Bombay are nothing compared to previous years—Rs. 44,220 against Rs. 26,029 during the February of this year, whereas Tamil Nadu shows Rs. 53,512 this year against Rs. 34,825 last year.

Organizing Khaddar Sales

It is astonishing the way the khaddar propaganda is evoking the faculties of the workers in all directions. Merely production is not enough. The quality must progressively increase. The cost of production has to be regulated and the sales must keep pace with production. Khadi Pratishthan is showing the way. I have already

[1] Not reproduced here
[2] Not reproduced here

remarked[1] upon the manner in which Bengal is trying to use up its own production locally. From January to 17th March, the Pratishthan workers sold by hawking Rs. 25,000 worth of khadi in 41 places in 14 districts. The workers have mapped out an all-Bengal tour which they hope to be able to finish within a few months. There will, therefore, be presently no over-production but an under-production. And, it will be possible to say that if more capital can be invested, more khaddar can be produced and sold. It will be an ideal condition when not only our sales are effected locally but financial help too is likewise raised. And it is bound to come, for sales must familiarize a large number of middle-class people with khadi; and when they begin to take a lively interest in it, they will naturally find the necessary capital without any difficulty.

Young India, 22-4-1926

402. *FOR AND AGAINST KHADI*

Against Khadi

A correspondent writes a Gujarati letter of which the following is a free rendering:

> I am a stenographer. I applied in reply to an advertisement by a well-known European firm for the post of a stenographer at its office and I received a reply asking me to report myself at their office. As soon as I was ushered into the presence of the manager, he scanned my dress and seeing that it was all pure khadi said, 'You are no use. Don't you know that those who wear khadi dress need not expect any employment in European firms?' And with this he dismissed me leaving me to wonder what connection my dress had with my ability to take down correct notes. I returned home feeling thankful that I had the courage to withstand the temptation of giving up my khadi dress for the sake of a comfortable employment. I hope that God will sustain that courage and that even when I am sorely tried, I shall not give up khadi which I know binds me to the poor of the land. I send you this information in order that it may serve as a warning to others against relying upon getting employment in European firms except on humiliating terms.

[1] *Vide* "Notes", 1-4-1926, sub-title, "Bengal's Worthy Example".

I congratulate the young stenographer upon his self-sacrifice and join my hope with his that God will sustain his courage even though he might have a series of disappointments when he tries to get employed as a stenographer.

FOR KHADI

But all European employers are not cast in the same mould. When I was in Calcutta last year, I came in touch with many European merchants and some of the leading ones amongst them not only had no objection to their employees wearing khadi dress but they avowed sympathy with the khadi movement and appreciated the sentiment that requires Indians and, indeed, those who make fortunes in India, to use cloth spun and woven by the toiling millions. Here is a letter from an Indian employee which the readers of *Young India* will read with pleasure:[1]

I congratulate the European firm upon their breadth of vision for it was no doubt something for them not to be carried away by prejudice when Non-co-operation was at its height and when khadi dress was mixed up by so many Europeans with violent intentions.

Young India, 22-4-1926

403. LETTER TO NAJUKLAL N. CHOKSI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Thursday, Second Chaitra Sud 10 [April 22, 1926][2]

BHAISHRI NAJUKLAL,

I have your letter. I will not let Moti disappoint me. I will shake her lethargy out of her. If she does not respond to my persuasion, I will leave her to you, a teacher, to do what you can. I shall then have to put a cane in your hand. If it does not work, I know of the spiked goads they use in your own district when driving bullocks. I will present some of these to you. Moti must be made to shake off her slackness and improve her handwriting. Her handwriting in her letter to Lakshmi looked very much like the crawling of a fly. Is this the example an elder sister should set to her younger one? How can we let her do that? Well, I close that chapter here.

[1] Not reproduced here. The correspondent, a stenographer, stated that despite his wearing khadi, his European employers had not only not objected to his dress but had given him increments and promotions.

[2] Year inferred from the reference to the cancellation of Mussoorie visit

Now that I am not going to Mussoorie, Velanbehn has for the time being discontinued her frequent tours. Anandi, too, has fallen ill. That is another reason why I cannot leave. Lakshmidas arrived only the day before yesterday. If possible, therefore, you should both come here; alternatively, if you can do without Moti, send her just now and you may come later. Or you may come when you are free. Do what suits you best. It was welcome news to me that you had recovered. So much for the present. This letter is for both of you.

With blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12127

404. *INTERVIEW ON AGRICULTURAL COMMISSION*

AHMEDABAD,
April 22, 1926

Interviewed by a Press representative in connection with the invitation sent to him to meet His Excellency the Governor, Mr. Gandhi said:

I have not much to say, because I have not studied the scope of the Royal Commission, nor have I interested myself in it. Being a confirmed Non-co-operator, I naturally take little or no interest in the doings of the many Commissions and Committees appointed by the Government. In agriculture itself, I am certainly interested, so much so that I delight in calling myself a farmer without knowing much of farming; and, if His Excellency the Acting Governor invites me to an informal discussion on matters agricultural, I shall certainly place my views before him.

The Hindu, 23-4-1926

405. *LETTER TO FRED CAMPBELL*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 23, 1926

MY DEAR YOUNG FRIEND,

I have your letter. Much as I would like to accommodate you, you have asked me to do almost the impossible. I cannot get a sixteeen year lad to write to you in English for the simple reason that his mother tongue would be an Indian language. Spanish is out of question. No doubt there are some Anglicized Indian

families where English is taught from infancy. But in order to get one such boy I shall have to hawk your letter about from place to place which I am sure you would not want or expect me to do. But if you want to open correspondence with a grown-up person who can write with the freshness of youth, I might succeed.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

FRED CAMPBELL, ESQ.
7701 MAIN ST.
KANSAS CITY, MO., U.S.A.

From a photostat: S.N. 12444

406. LETTER TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

This is to introduce to you one of my dearest co-workers and friends Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who has gone there with his wife. She is suffering from tuberculosis. Naturally my friend would like to make your acquaintance and pay his respects to you. I know that you will befriend him and his wife.

Mirabai, as we call Miss Slade here, is getting on very well and is quite happy. We often think of you and talk about you and the possibility of your visiting India at the end of the year. I wonder if your health can bear the strain of the visit.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

MONSIEUR ROMAIN ROLLAND
VILLA OLGA
VILLENGUVE
(VAND)
SWITZERLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 12467

407. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 23, 1926

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I have been thinking of writing to you every week and every week I have failed. I must not let this week, however, pass by. I have had the latest news about you from Father while he was here with the Responsivists. You will have seen the agreement[1] that has been arrived at.

Hindus and Muslims are going more and more away from each other. But this thing does not disturb me. Somehow or other, I feel that the separation is growing in order only to bring them all closer later on.

I do hope Kamala is benefiting.

Yours,
BAPU

A Bunch of Old Letters, p. 46

408. CIRCULAR LETTER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Time has arrived to work the Hindi Prachar Office in the Southern presidency as a matter of trust and, after consulting with Pandit Harihara Sharma, I have come to the conclusion that the trustees should include some lovers of Hindi in that Presidency also. The following are the names I propose:

Sjt. S. Srinivasa Iyengar
,, Konda Venkatappayya Garu
,, C. Rajagopalachariar
Seth Jamnalal Bajaj
Sjt. Harihara Sharma
,, Hrishikesha Sharma
,, Satyanarayana

and a nominee of the Sahitya Sammelan if they desire a name

[1] *Vide* Appendix II.

to be added. I hope that you have no objection to your name being included in the trust.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19490

409. LETTER TO GENERAL SECRETARY, HINDI SAHITYA SAMMELAN

SABARMATI,
April 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I did get your telegram, and had also sent a reply. I had hoped that someone would come over on behalf of the Sammelan. Pandit Harihara Sharma is here since a couple of days ago. After discussing the matter with him I have come to the conclusion that we should form a trust for propagating Hindi in the South and hand over the organizational control of the work entirely to it. This will end the present state of indecision and inspire the workers to more energetic effort. I have addressed a letter[1] proposing this, a copy of which is enclosed for you. I want your opinion on what I have proposed. If it is necessary to discuss the matter with me, either come over yourself or send somebody. My trip to Mussoorie has been abandoned.

Yours,

GENERAL SECRETARY
HINDI SAHITYA SAMMELAN
PRAYAG

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19492

410. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Here is an article by Miss Rasengren. She has sent it to me for *Young India*. I am disinclined to publish it and rake up an old controversy[2] about which almost every Indian has made up his

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] *Vide* the succeeding item.

mind. The writer says that if I would not take it, I should send it to you for publication in *Indian Review*. Probably you know the writer.

I had a typed copy made of it which I am sending you.

Yours sincerely,

Enc. 3 sheets

SJT. G. A. NATESAN
EDITOR
"INDIAN REVIEW"
G. T. MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 19486

411. LETTER TO ADA RASENGREN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I must not publish the article you have sent me. Almost every Indian believes that England was in the wrong and responsible for the calamitous War. I do not now wish to rake up an old controversy without any occasion for it.

As desired I have sent a copy of your essay to Mr. Natesan, Madras. I have given your card to the Manager of *Young India*.

Yours sincerely,

MISS ADA RASENGREN
RO, LIDINGO VILLASTAD

From a photostat: S.N. 12466

412. LETTER TO MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER,

I do hope you will forgive me for not having come to Delhi. But I felt and both Panditji and Mrs. Naidu agreed that I should not be made to leave Ahmedabad contrary to the resolution of Cawnpore.

You have seen my letter to Hakimji. That was the best advice I could give. I hope everything has gone well.

Your charkha was repaired. It went yesterday with Yeshwant Prasad to Bombay and will be delivered to you.

Yours,

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI
DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 19488

413. LETTER TO N. S. VARADACHARI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 23, 1926

MY DEAR VARADACHARI,

I had your letter. I enclose herewith a copy of a letter written to Ganesan. You may apply your mind separately to the proposal. Of course the proposal is useless if you cannot be in Madras. I have made the proposal so as to enable you to be nearest to your centre of activity. I do not want to drag you all the way here if it is at all possible.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

SJT. N. S. VARADACHARI
ERODE

From a microfilm: S.N. 19489

414. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

SABARMATI,
April 23, 1926

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Anna[1] has come here, and is leaving again today. The dispute with the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan is going on. I have now decided that we should have a trust for this purpose too. I have addressed a letter[2] about this, a copy of which will be handed over to you by Anna. You can make any suggestions about trustees which you may like to. I have proposed that the trustees will include, besides others, three workers actively engaged in propagating Hindi; I think that will be necessary. They will be

[1] Harihara Sharma
[2] *Vide* "Circular Letter", 23-4-1926.

persons who have dedicated their lives to the cause, and it will be proper, therefore, to include them among the trustees. Please decide in consultation with Anna in what instalments you will pay the sum which you assured him that you would pay. That will make things easy for him, and you, too, will have the matter off your mind. He will get the amounts regularly on the dates fixed. You may ask him about the accounts if you wish to. I will not myself be looking into them. Anna will place before you his scheme for getting the accounts audited. I am still thinking about the bigger trust. I also think it absolutely necessary that we should regularly publish the accounts of all funds being managed by us. Till now I did not insist on this being done out of my anxiety to economize expenses. I know that, in spite of the practice of publishing accounts, there can be malpractices and, therefore, we place our trust entirely on the integrity of our workers. All the same, we should avail ourselves of the advantage of safety which the practice of publishing accounts offers. There are a number of small trusts, the names of all of which I, too, do not remember. I always feel that it would have been very much better if all these things had been published at the right time. But now at any rate we shall publish them.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19491

415. STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN PROBLEM

AHMEDABAD,
April 24, 1926

Mr. Gandhi has issued the following statement to the Associated Press on the latest announcement regarding acceptance by the Union Government of the offer of the Government of India for a conference to arrive at an amicable solution of the Indian Problem:

The news from South Africa is certainly welcome. It enables Indian settlers to have a breathing time and upon this happy result all parties, the Union Government, the Government of India and the settlers, may congratulate themselves. In my opinion the real credit belongs to Mr. C. F. Andrews without whose incessant energy, prayerful watchfulness and detailed study of the situation, combined with rare faith in the cause he was espousing, this happy result could not have been obtained.

If the Union Government's proviso is honestly meant, its ac-

ceptance by the Government of India does not much matter. The Union Government is undoubtedly entitled to safeguard what they call Western standard of life by just and legitimate means and the only just and legitimate means that can be accepted are sanitary and economic laws. Thus, for instance, Indian lawyers must compete with European lawyers on equal terms and so far as I am aware no Indian lawyer does otherwise. But I have discovered that there is discrimination used even against them. I believe the Paddison Deputation, which, in spite of my non-co-operation I am free to confess, has deserved well, made the discovery that even in the Supreme Court clerks who appear before the Registrar on business must not be wearers of any but white skin. If that is called safeguarding Western standards of life by just and legitimate means the proviso is dangerous. But I am an optimist. I shall take the proviso at its face value and if the Government of India will insist upon its being strictly interpreted all will be well. I hope that neither the Government of India nor the public will relax their watchfulness if a final and honourable settlement is to be secured.

Now that there is to be a conference, India has the right to hope that all questions that arise out of the Bill will be examined and dealt with in a just manner. The Indian settlers have nothing to fear from a most searching enquiry into the question and I make bold to say that at the end of the enquiry it will be found that the only crime that can be proved against them is that they are Asiatics and have a skin which has all shades of colour.

The economic question was laid at rest when in 1914 all fear of unrestricted emigration from India to South Africa was absolutely laid at rest. The figures produced before the Select Committee have conclusively proved that the numerical strength of Indian settlers is on the decrease whereas that of the white settlers is on the increase. There is no comparison between the insignificant value of Indian holdings and the extraordinary increase in the value of European holdings. Indian trade licences everywhere are also dwindling.

If only South African statesmen will face facts squarely it will be found that there is no case against the Indian settlers. But at the present moment I want neither to anticipate nor to criticize. I have nothing but a feeling of relief and thankfulness. I tender my congratulations to General Hertzog and Dr. Malan upon their having risen to the occasion.

Forward, 25-4-1926

416. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 24, 1926

MY DEAR BHRRR[1],

I have your letter. Though life there seems to be dead, you have gone with the soul of a youth to resurrect the dead, and your optimism will infect Ramdas. I do not care how much you sell. I simply marvel at the manner in which you have responded and in which you are toiling there in midsummer. May God bless you and your effort. The proposed visit to Mussoorie was cancelled in answer to the chit that was drawn. When there is no principle at stake and when it is difficult to decide, I find God's answer through drawing chits and it has proved for me a most valuable time and trouble-saver.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

ABBAS TYABJI, ESQ.
RASHTRIYA SHALA
WADHWAN CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 9553

417. LETTER TO AKSEL F. KNUDSEN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I remember your visit. If you want to translate *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* for a magazine, you may do so without any difficulty but if you wish to bring out the same in book-form it is a matter somewhat difficult because the MacMillan Company is negotiating for the full copyright and, in any case, there is no hurry about it for it will

[1] This was a form of greeting used by Gandhiji and the addressee for each other.

take some time before the story can be finished.

Yours sincerely,

AKSEL F. KNUDSEN, ESQ.
SHANTI GEHA
KODAIKANAL
MADRAS DISTRICT

From a microfilm: S.N. 19495

418. LETTER TO C. V. KRISHNA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 24, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNA,

I had your previous letters. And as you told me in one of them that you would write again, I did not acknowledge them.

I had the letter in answer to my letter to the late Hanumantharao regarding the tuberculosis patient. As he was not ready to go, I did not consider it necessary to write to you merely to tell you that much.

I understand your programme. In my opinion, you are too few workers to warrant the ambitious programme you have drawn up. I therefore advise you to move cautiously. How many workers are you there now? What about the Rs. 3,000 you say you have from Rustomjee's funds? Can you not use them? In any case, I would like you to put yourself in communication with the agent of the All-India Spinners' Association. Let him visit your place and you may send your application through the agent if he will back it. It will be then perhaps easy for me to get the money you require.

Give in that application the fullest details, your requirements, your prospects and the number of workers you have, etc. Meanwhile push further your collection of ten thousand, for, if you make progress in that direction, it would enable me the better to get the extra help you want. Am I now clear?

You tell me, the diet of the inmates cost Rs. 6 per month. Please send me the diet scale with the ruling prices. By the scale, I mean how much and what is allowed to each inmate.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. V. KRISHNA
NELLORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 19496

419. LETTER TO G. STANLEY JONES

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and one copy, not two, of your paper. Is it a weekly or a monthly? I do not find the information in the copy before me. I shall send you something as soon as I have a little leisure but after I have heard from you in reply to this.

I was going to Mussoorie but the friends who were interested in sending me there have relaxed the pressure and let me stay at the Ashram. I shall await your arrival at the Ashram and look forward to your stay in our midst be it ever so short. Did you not tell me you had lived at the Ashram before for a day or two? If, for any reason whatsoever, I am away from the Ashram in July, I hope you will still come. There is just a slight probability of my going to Finland for the World Students' Conference. I say only a slight probability because the matter has not progressed beyond the conversational stage.

Yours sincerely,

G. STANLEY JONES, ESQ.
SITAPUR, U. P.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19497

420. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA MUKERJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 24, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have now read the pamphlet signed by Miss Edger and other friends. It is quite unexceptionable. But I doubt the utility of an organization for the education of public opinion by various kinds of propaganda "for eradicating war". That propaganda has really no meaning in our country at the present moment.

I have had repeated letters from America from the Fellowship of Reconciliation. I am in correspondence with them still but I have not joined them as it seems to me to be a mockery for me

to join. May a mouse with any propriety join the organization run by cats for the purpose of stopping war on mice? It is therefore enough for us to realize our status and "pray in secret" for peace on earth.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19498

421. LETTER TO K. T. MATHEW

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 24, 1926

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your interesting letter. I am quite sure that you cannot amend your resolution in the manner suggested by the president because it is the Devaswom roads which you want to throw open to all castes and creeds without let or hindrance. Can you not move a resolution for removing or amending the prohibitory rule itself? If the resolution cannot be moved and if you can get other supporters you may resign in a body by way of protest and seek re-election educating public opinion all the while. You should promote also a petition to the Government for throwing open the roads. And, if you have some brave and self-sacrificing men who do not belong to the so-called untouchable group, they should escort the latter through the roads and face the consequence. That you should do only if the opinion of caste Hindus is overwhelmingly in your favour. If it is not in your favour, and if you have men who will delight in endless suffering, you may still offer satyagraha. If that measure of self-sacrifice is not possible or if non-violence on the part of reformers cannot be ensured, you should be satisfied with quiet work amongst the untouchables and raising their status by helping to raise the level of character amongst them.

Yours sincerely,

K. T. MATHEW, ESQ.
MEMBER, LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
COCHIN STATE
COCHIN

From a microfilm: S.N. 19499

422. *LETTER TO SHANKARAN NAMBUDRIPAD*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

There is a serious complaint against you that at a meeting the other day regarding the removal of untouchability, you made a speech at Trivandrum where you incited to violence and said that nothing but violence would teach the opponents of reforms. I have in my possession extracts from your speech which I understand has been taken down verbatim. I shall thank you to let me know whether there is any truth in this report.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SHANKARAN NAMBUDRIPAD
KOPRATTU ILLAM
KOTTAYAM
NORTH TRAVANCORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 19500

423. *LETTER TO SHANKERLAL*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter about Prem Maha Vidyalaya. I had a chat with Prof. A. T. Gidwani whom I suppose you know well. He will require Rs. 250 per month. If you want him, of course, details will have to be fixed. You will let me know at an early date whether Professor Gidwani will suit.

Yours sincerely,

LALA SHANKERLAL
DELHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 19501

424. LETTER TO RAM DATTA CHOPRA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am myself totally against vaccination. But this is a matter in which everybody must decide for himself and not merely copy the views of others; for, after all it may sometimes become a question of life and death. It is impossible to assert positively that no one has been saved from an attack of small pox or worse by being vaccinated. He, therefore, who refrains from vaccination, does so with the full knowledge that he runs the risk of himself and his children being disfigured by small pox and even meeting death. At the same time, this is true that vaccination does not afford an absolute guarantee against small pox. Therefore those only will not be vaccinated who hold the body subservient to the soul and have an inner conviction that vaccination is hurtful for the soul.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. RAM DATTA CHOPRA
HEAD MASTER
D. B. SCHOOL, JANAURI
DT. HOSHIARPUR (PUNJAB)

From a photostat: S.N. 19502

425. LETTER TO ZAFARULMULK

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your lucid letter. The question you have put is really difficult to answer. But this is one of those questions which everyone must answer for himself. So far as the Congress is concerned you have absolute liberty of action. But with those with whom non-co-operation has almost become a creed, there is no guidance but that of the inner voice. If you ask me what I would do myself, I can only say that I could not work in a body

in which the Governor is ex-officio patron and in which the Chairman and the Secretary are also officials as such.

Yours sincerely,

ZAFARULMULK, ESQ.
LUCKNOW

From a photostat: S.N. 19503

426. LETTER TO AMULYA CHANDRA SEN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and thank you for your good wishes.

The way you have put my position very nearly takes my breath away. For, you say, "it is quite clear you have never changed from untruth to truth." The statement is both true and untrue. There was no occasion for me to make a conscious effort to speak the truth or to be able to appreciate truth. But interpreting truth in its broadest sense, I must confess that I am still filled with untruth and am ever striving to rid myself of it. Therefore, I can fully endorse the latter portion of the sentence from which I have quoted; for, I see truth every day clearer and clearer. The process through which the soul has been passing is an effort of the heart. The intellect has been hooked to its service by prayer, meditation and constant watchfulness which are essentially matters of the heart and which have been the predominant factors that have contributed to the growing revelation of truth. I have never felt that whatever knowledge has been gained was imposed from without but that it has come from within. It has been an unfolding, drawing out or perhaps better still removing the hard and ugly crusts that overlay the truth that is within us. In other words, the process has been one of self-purification.

My visit to Mussoorie has been cancelled.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. AMULYA CHANDRA SEN
LANGUAGE SCHOOL
QUEEN'S HILL
DARJEELING

From a photostat: S.N. 19504

castes. I would not encourage the remarriage of a woman who becomes a widow after she has grown up in years.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SHRI PURUSHOTTAM MULJI SHETH
VOKALA PHALIYA, BHUJ

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19904

429. LETTER TO AMRITLAL BAHECHARDAS

April 24, 1926

BHAISHRI AMRITLAL,

I had got my life insured in the year 1902, I let it lapse in the year 1903 or 1904, forfeiting the premia already paid up.[1]

(2) It is my belief that getting one's life insured betrays a measure of lack of faith in God.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI AMRITLAL BAHECHARDAS
KELAPEETH BAZAAR
BROACH

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19905

430. LETTER TO DUNGARSEY KACHARA

ASHRAM,
April 24, 1926

BHAISHRI DUNGARSEY KACHARA,

I have your letter.

I think you should not mind if your parents suffer, nor should you give up your resolve or forsake your dharma while trying to win them over through persuasion. Your parents' grief which is due solely to ingorance will subside in course of time but the guilt of betraying one's pledge can never be undone. You should make your life pure day by day to bring peace to your parents, and serve them in all possible ways. They will soon realize then that you do the work which you have undertaken because you regard it as your dharma.

[1] *Vide An Autobiography*, Pt. IV, Ch. V.

(2) Borodada's assertion may be true. There is no reason why we cannot win liberation from the body during this very existence. If there were, it would prove that the power of the *atman* had limits to it. At the most we can say that liberation while yet alive and in this body is so difficult as to be almost impossible.

(3) It is altogether wrong that cattle should be allowed to consume night-soil. The milk of a cow which consumes excreta cannot be good. If people think and follow dharma, they would stop easing themselves in the streets. All night-soil must be used for preparing manure.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SHRI DUNGARSEY KACHARA
BAMBHDAI, P.O. KUTCH BADA

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19906

431. LETTER TO AMRITLAL THAKKAR

ASHRAM,
April 24, 1926

BHAISHRI AMRITLAL,

Since you spoke to me I have been thinking over the subject. The more I think, the more I feel convinced that you should not take up that work. I see in the idea excessive attachment to work on your part. I should not like you to take it up even if you are thinking of doing it in the manner suggested by me. Even if you have the energy to apply your mind to new problems, and you are bound to have it since you regard yourself as a young man, you should utilize it in giving more thought to the two missions of your life, the service of *Antyajas* and Bhils; you will even then be short of time. These two tasks can do with the life-long services not of yourself alone but of many like you. There is, and I think there ought to be, a limit to the desire to do good. If we go looking for suffering in the world, we shall find that there is no end to it. We shall discover something to reform at every step. But surely God has not laid on us the burden of ending all that suffering. If he has, then he has also taught us the secret of carrying it; and it is that from out of the great heap of suffering we should pick up one clod of earth. If we resolve to do

all we can to end that suffering and firmly refuse to take up any other task, we shall have carried the load of the entire hill. If I have succeeded in impressing this very simple truth upon your mind, I would ask you to promise me that you will not take up any other work besides your two missions even for the kingdom of the earth. And then if you ever feel that those two tasks do not absorb all your time, please come to me. I promise to show to you then that there was in those very fields much that you had omitted to do.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

BHIL SEVA MANDAL,
DOHAD

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19907

432. LETTER TO RAMU THAKKAR

ASHRAM,
April 24, 1926

BHAISHRI RAMU,

I have your letter. You have described me as the creator of a new age and asked my advice. But after describing me thus you have immediately proceeded to demolish that image; while seeking my advice, you yourself have given me some. A person who goes to a medical man who has but one remedy for all diseases, and asks for one other than that, can only be said to be pulling his leg. Don't you think you have done something like that? Moreover, this is your estimate of the achievement of the creator of an age: "In your unfruitful effort to win swaraj, you have wasted many years and much money and energy." Tell me now, what sort of peace of mind do you hope to learn from a creator of an age such as this? You may dislike the charkha, but why malign *Ramanama*? If you only keep repeating that name, all the girls and women who haunt your imagination will win their freedom. You seem to think that *Ramanama* is for the passionless; what has such a person to do with *Ramanama*? It was a person troubled by lustful thoughts who discovered the power of that name, and it was because I used it to quench the fire of passion in me and found it effective that I have been recommending it to men and women who are troubled in the same way.

There are not as many unhappy women and girls as you think there are. The unhappy ones can, if they choose, take the help of the law. Yes, it is certainly true that these women are not conscious of their rights, and those who are do not have the strength to assert them. The remedy is simply the spread of true education. True education means building of character, and that is not possible without *Ramanama*. Moreover, such unhappy women are generally without any means and, if they wish to preserve their virtue, the charkha is the only means for them. These are some of the reasons why for me learning begins with these two, [*Ramanama* and charkha]. But how can I expect you to approve of my ideas? So you will have to look elsewhere for a remedy for the suffering which you think exists. If you fail in your search, you may come to me. My faith and patience are inexhaustible, and I will, therefore, wait for you quietly.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI RAMU PARMANAND THAKKAR
SHAMALDAS COLLEGE
BHAVNAGAR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19908

433. *PREJUDICE AGAINST KHADI*

I compliment this patriotic youth[1] on his determination and sacrifice, and hope that he will keep up his attitude, will not, in future too, be tempted by higher salary or go back on his pledge or change his dress. If even at this hour khadi can be insulted, more than the British, we are to blame. British firms get any number of young men who are ready to serve them on their terms, and those people are not worried and can afford to behave as they like. If everyone understood the value of khadi and was ready to make some little sacrifice for the sake of the country, the prejudice against khadi would disappear immediately.

[1] His letter, not translated here, describes how he had sacrificed his education for the national cause and always wore khadi. He was afterwards selected for appointment as shorthand typist in a British firm but, on his presenting himself for duty, was turned away because of his khadi dress. *Vide* "For and against Khadi", 22-4-1926.

HOW A "SANATANI" MAY ACT

A learned and orthodox Hindu, who subscribes himself as "A Sanatani Hindu", writes:[1]

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 25-4-1926

434. ABOLISH MARRIAGE![2]

A correspondent, whom I know well, raises an issue, I take it, for purely academic interest, because I know the views he has set out are not his. 'Is not our present-day morality unnatural?' he asks. If it was natural it should have been the same everywhere in all ages, but every race and community seems to have its own peculiar marriage laws and in enforcing them men have made themselves worse than beasts. For diseases which are unknown amongst animals are quite common amongst men; infanticide, abortions, child-marriages, which are impossible in the brute creation, are the curse of the society that holds up marriage as a sacrament, and no end of evil results have sprung from what we uphold as laws of morality. And the miserable condition of Hindu widows—what is it due to, but to the existing marriage laws? Why not go back to nature, and take a leaf out of the book of the brute creation?

I do not know whether the advocates of free love in the West resort to the argument summarized above or have any stronger reasons to put forth, but I am sure that the tendency to regard the marriage bond as barbarous is distinctly Western. If the argument is also borrowed from the West, there is no difficulty about meeting it.

It is a mistake to institute a comparison between man and the brute and it is this comparison that vitiates the whole argument. For man is higher than the brute in his moral instincts and moral institutions. The law of nature as applied to the one is different from the law of nature as applied to the other. Man has reason, discrimination, and free will such as it is. The brute has no

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had quoted, in connection with the temple-entry movement in the South, a Sanskrit stanza which said that one need not take a bath after touching a Chandala waiting outside a temple to have a glimpse of the deity's image.

[2] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 25-4-1926. This is a condensed translation by Mahadev Desai.

such thing. It is not a free agent, and knows no distinction between virtue and vice, good and evil. Man, being a free agent, knows these distinctions, and when he follows his higher nature shows himself far superior to the brute, but when he follows his baser nature, can show himself lower than the brute. Even the races regarded as the most uncivilized on earth accept some restriction on sexual relations. If it be said that the restriction is itself barbarous, then freedom from all restraints should be the law of man. If all men were to act according to this lawless law, there would be perfect chaos within twenty-four hours. Man being by nature more passionate than the brute, the moment all restraint is withdrawn, the lava of unbridled passion would overspread the whole earth and destroy mankind. Man is superior to the brute inasmuch as he is capable of self-restraint and sacrifice, of which the brute is incapable.

Some of the diseases that are so common at the present day are the result of infringement of marriage laws. I should like to know a single instance of a man strictly observing the restraint of the marriage bond having suffered from the diseases the correspondent has in mind. Infanticide, child-marriages and the like are also the result of the breach of marriage laws. For the law lays down that a man or woman shall choose a mate only when he or she has come of age, is healthy, and capable of restraint, and desires to have progeny. Those who strictly obey this law, and regard the marriage bond as a sacrament, have never an occasion to be unhappy or miserable. Where marriage is a sacrament, the union is not the union of bodies but the union of souls indissoluble even by the death of either party. Where there is a true union of souls, the remarriage of a widow or widower is unthinkable, improper and wrong. Marriages, where the true law of marriage is ignored, do not deserve the name. If we have very few true marriages nowadays, it is not the institution of marriage that is to blame, but the prevailing form of it, which should be reformed.

The correspondent contends that marriage is no moral or religious bond but a custom, and a custom which is opposed to religion and morality, and hence deserves to be abolished. I submit that marriage is a fence that protects religion. If the fence were to be destroyed religion would go to pieces. The foundation of religion is restraint and marriage is nothing but restraint. The man who knows no restraint has no hope of self-realization. I confess it may be difficult to prove the necessity of restraint to an atheist or a materialist. But he who knows the perishable nature of flesh from the imperishable nature of the spirit instinctively knows

that self-realization is impossible without self-discipline and self-restraint. The body may either be a play-ground of passion, or a temple of self-realization. If it is the latter, there is no room there for libertinism. The spirit needs must curb the flesh every moment.

Woman will be the apple of discord where the marriage bond is loose, where there is no observance of the law of restraint. If men were as unrestrained as the brutes they would straightway take the road to destruction. I am firmly of opinion that all the evils that the correspondent complains of can be eradicated not by abolishing marriage but by a systematic understanding and observance of the law of marriage.

I agree that whereas amongst some communities marriage is permitted amongst very near relations, it is prohibited among other communities, that whereas some communities forbid polygamy some permit it. Whilst one would wish that there was a uniform moral law accepted by all communities, the diversity does not point to the necessity of abolishing all restraint. As we grow wise in experience our morality will gain in uniformity. Even today the moral sense of the world holds up monogamy as the highest ideal and no religion makes polygamy obligatory. The ideal remains unaffected by the relaxation of practice according to time and place.

I need not reiterate my views regarding remarriage of widows, as I consider remarriage of virgin widows not only desirable but the bounden duty of all parents who happen to have such widowed daughters.

Young India, 3-6-1926

435. LETTER TO AHMED MIYAN

April 25, 1926

BHAI AHMED MIYAN,

I have your letter.

1-2. In my opinion, my efforts for Hindu-Muslim unity have not been fruitless. However much the two communities may be estranged at present, I think ultimately they will have to [come together][1].

3. Unity is certainly essential for the solution of the country's problems.

[1] 'Fight it out' in the source

4. Money can be spent only for the cause for which it was collected.

5. I have not been able to discover the reasons for the painful incidents at Calcutta. I put little trust in newspaper reports. The Arya Samaj, I believe, used to take out processions formerly too.

6. I think it would be betraying lack of faith in God even to speculate whether or not the results would have been better if I had adopted some other way.

7. It is, I know, for God to worry who will take my place, why then should I worry about it?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19909

436. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

ASHRAM,
April 25, 1926

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have your letter. The Governor has replied that it is not necessary for me to go there at present. It will do if I see him in June after he comes down; so we are free from the bother of having to go to Mahabaleshwar.

I did make some mention to Lalaji about his grievance but he refused to admit to me that he had any. Since we know the trouble, we will certainly apply the remedy when he is here.

I will speak to Motilalji when there is an opportunity to do so. I am sure there will be no difficulty in regard to that matter.

I do not feel like sending away Devdas from here just now. It would be better if he leaves only after he has completely recovered his health. Moreover, if I am required to go to Europe I shall have to think what I should do and whom I should take with me. My present intention is that Mahadev and Devdas should accompany me. For this reason, too, it is better that Devdas should stay here for the present. If at all we decide to go, we shall be leaving at the beginning of July. I have received no reply as yet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2861

437. LETTER TO NAGINDAS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, April 25, 1926

BHAISHRI NAGINDAS,

Read the enclosed postcard and let me know what you wrote to him. If this gentleman had ordered books as per the announcement in *Navajivan*, I think you should have sent them. . . Let me also know how many orders you have received to date on cash payment.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19506

438. LETTER TO GULABDAS LALJI[1]

ASHRAM,
April 25, 1926

BHAISHRI GULABDAS,

1. There cannot be any difficulty in studying at home any of the subjects[2] you have mentioned.

2. It is for the person concerned to see that his work in the profession does not kill his better feelings. I certainly rate these professions[3] inferior to agriculture and other manual work.

3. For the practice of *brahmacharya*, one's diet should be simple and light; spices and stimulating foods should be avoided.

4. There is certainly some meaning in the distinction which is made, from the point of view of non-violence, between greens and pulses. At the present time, however, dharma is restricted to making such distinctions and, therefore, this one has become unprofitable.

5. So long as women are, and believe that they are, dependent, people see nothing wrong in their having to submit to more restrictions than men.

1. I do not think that dharma requires a wife to do everything her husband does.

[1] This was in response to two sets of questions by the addressee.

[2] & [3] Engineering, medicine and homoeopathy

2. A husband may not force his wife to wear khadi, but may persuade her to do so only with the power of his love.

3. Both the son and his wife should insist on wearing khadi, but so long as the father requires their services they should not leave his house.

4. To me it seems altogether wrong that a man should take a second wife, with or without the first wife's consent. In my opinion, a man may not marry again even if his wife has borne him no children.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19910

439. *LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI*

April 26, 1926

I do not feel like going there at all. I do not like to leave the Ashram even for an hour.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi p. 87

440. *LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR*

ASHRAM,
Monday, April 26, 1926

BHAISHRI KAKA,

I have your letters. I shall certainly answer your question about cow's milk, but not today.

When asked about the new almanac Swami said that he did not understand the problem. I at any rate do not. Explain it to us after you get well and revise the almanac. Can we, however, introduce any changes without first discussing them at length in *Navajivan*? I have not yet been able to understand the significance of the proposed changes. Shri Harihar is expected here in a few days; I shall try to understand it from him. . . .[1]

My Mussoorie trip is off for ever. The meeting with the Governor will also take place either in Poona or Bombay, in June. At present the air is thick with talk about a trip to Finland. I have not yet received the final reply. I still think that they will not agree to my condition regarding my dress. If the

[1] As in the source

journey is finally decided upon, I shall be away for not less than three months.

More in my next.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19911

441. LETTER TO CHANDRASHANKAR PANDYA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Monday, April 26, 1926

BHAISHRI CHANDRASHANKAR,

I was glad to have your letter.

Who gave you the right to fall ill again? How if you return it to the person who gave it to you? Or is it that, in this age of freedom, we may not give up any rights which we have once secured?

Believe me I am making my humble efforts as you desire. I believe in every word of the last line in the verse quoted by you. "Though outwardly following different paths, may we be one in heart."

Motilalji is also working towards the same end, but how can we have unity when the hearts are divided? Difference in ideology may also keep the hearts divided. It would be good to have only two parties, the Government and the people; but I do not think this possible at present. When our hearts feel in that way, nothing more remains to be done. It should be our ceaseless effort to bring about what is lacking now.

If you come to Ahmedabad and stay here for a couple of days, we shall discuss this at length.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI CHANDRASHANKAR PANDYA
HIGH COURT PLEADER
CHINA BAGH, GIRGAON
BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19912

442. LETTER TO S. GANESAN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 27, 1926

MY DEAR GANESAN,

I have your telegram. I send you a copy of the essay[1] so far as it has been typed. It will cover in all 100 pages. This ought to enable you to give me your exact quotation. The original intention was to publish through the *Navajivan* office. As Varadachari is in Madras and as I learn that probably the essay can be printed cheaper in Madras, I thought I would first have the quotation from you before deciding to give it to *Navajivan*.

The required paper has already been bought for the book. If therefore you are to print the essay the paper will have to be transferred to you. So you may give me your quotation without the cost of the paper for 2,000 copies. And you will give me the exact date of delivery of copies after the thing is put into your hands.

It will be necessary for me to consult also Varadachari whether he can stay in Madras and do it on his own responsibility. In order to expedite matters you will perhaps see or correspond with Varadachari also.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19507

443. LETTER TO S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 27, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your telegram. I saw your interview only yesterday. I expect you in Sabarmati at the time of the A.I.C.C. meeting.

I fully appreciate your position and difficulty. The only part that I played then and should play now is to act as a peacemaker. I am not interested in the Councils at all. I may be regarded as a disinterested party. That is about all that can be said of myself.

[1] *Hand-spinning and Hand-weaving—An Essay* by S. V. Puntambekar and N. S. Varadachari

The more I study the Councils' work, the effect of entry into the Councils upon public life, its repercussion upon the Hindu-Muslim question, the more convinced I become not only of the futility but of the inadvisability of Council-entry. I would welcome the day when at least a few of the comrades of 1920 leave the Councils to their fate and work if they like at the charkha programme or any other thing they wish. I have not a shadow of doubt that they will be the reserve force ready for mobilization when the time for battle comes. However, that is my view. For the present, I bottle it up and keep it to myself except when I share it with friends like you. The time for its public ventilation is not yet come. I should simply add one more to the already existing disturbing factors without doing the slightest good. This, therefore, is only for your eyes. More when we meet.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR
AMJAD BAGH
MYLAPORE, MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 19508

444. LETTER TO DR. MANEKBAI BAHADURJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 27, 1926

DEAR MANEKBAI,

I have your welcome letter. I was delighted to receive it. I would certainly have stayed with you had I gone to Mahabaleshwar, even if it was for only a day but I am not called upon now to go to Mahabaleshwar. I had asked the Governor to postpone the interview till he came down from the hills after the season and he has agreed. It means for me a saving of a few days though at the same time a deprivation of the pleasure of meeting you and Mr. Bahadurji.

I had a reminder from him that he was not a doctor but as I knew you before I knew him, evidently in the hurry of dictating I forgot the distinction. I do not tender my apologies, for, I see no harm in the husband of a doctress also being called a doctor by way of courtesy.

Do you remember the singlets you sent me? And, do you also remember that you owe me more? I shan't call upon you to fulfil the promise as I cannot need them in this boiling heat. But

I send the reminder so that I can fall back upon your promise whenever I need them.

With regards to you all,

Yours sincerely,

DR. MANEKBAI BAHADURJI
COMRA HALL
PANCHGANI

From a photostat: S.N. 19509

445. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Chaitra Poornima [April 27, 1926]

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter. I enclose for your knowledge the receipt received from Jamnalalji's office for that part of the amount of your cheque which was intended as your contribution to the All-India Deshbandhu Memorial Fund. I learn for the first time that receipts are issued after deducting draft charges.

What more may I say about the Hindu-Muslim fighting? I fully understand what is best for us, but I also know that anything I say at present will just be a cry in the wilderness. Who can drive away a fly sitting on honey? Who can stop the moth from circling round the flame?

I have been reaping a great many benefits from the decision not to go to Mussoorie. Why did you send a telegram from Delhi asking me to go when you had already given your opinion here? But who can destroy him whom God protects?

I do not know my own mind in regard to the visit to Finland. I have sound reasons both for and against going there, and because I could not decide either way, I told those who had invited me that I would accept their invitation on certain conditions; if they agree to have me on those conditions, I would conclude that it was necessary that I should go.

We shall see what happens at the All-India Congress Committee meeting.

I want Shri Jugalkishore's consent in regard to the Chinese student, since he takes special interest in such matters. I wrote to him remembering what he had said to me. In matters which lie outside my own sphere, I act only if I get the help of friends who would know. I do not want to add unnecessarily to the burdens

you shoulder for my sake. As long as you brothers have separate accounts, I too shall deal with each of you individually. Kindly therefore, let me know what Shri Jugalkishore would like me to do.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original: C.W. 6125a. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

446. LETTER TO JUGALKISHORE BIRLA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, April 28, 1926

BHAI JUGALKISHOREJI,

I got your letter today. I will send the money for the girl. At present the Chinese student seems to possess all fine qualities of character. At his own request, he has been given an Indian name. We call him Shanti.

Though the present strife between Hindus and Muslims is painful, I see a ray of peace shining through it. I always pray to God that we may not forget our dharma.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original: C.W. 6126. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

447. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday [April 28, 1926][1]

BHAISHRI DEVCHANDBHAI,

I have your letter. What you have written to the Dewan Saheb[2] is all right. I shall let you know if [it] does not arrive in about eight days.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5706

[1] From the postmark
[2] Dewan of Porbandar

448. LETTER TO NAJUKLAL N. CHOKSI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, April 28, 1926

BHAISHRI NAJUKLAL,

This letter too, though addressed to you, is meant for both of you. Husband and wife both have the right to use, if necessary, a goad or a stick against the other partner; only, the goad should be of the satyagrahi type, like that satyagrahi abuse. As for Moti, I warn her that I will use nothing but the goad to drive out her laziness and improve her handwriting. She is welcome to leave the Ashram in fear at the prospect. And when she leaves where else but to you will she go? There is certainly some resemblance between the jealous and the godfearing. The actions of either are amusing, and both pin their faith in the unknown. He must be a proud man or a fool who wastes the divine gift of time in thinking over matters on which no one can come to a definite conclusion or which do not involve any issue of principle. I am not a fool nor a proud man; I am godfearing, so I saved time by drawing lots to avoid argument among friends. What difference would it make if I went to Mussoorie? Or, if I did not go? To live in India and to hanker after cool places all the year round is as silly as to live in a river and make the crocodile your enemy.

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. NAJUKLAL NANDLAL CHOKSI
RASHTRIYA KELAVANI MANDAL
BROACH

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12127-A

449. SOUTH AFRICA

The Government of India has every reason to congratulate itself upon the diplomatic victory it has gained in South Africa. I have shown elsewhere[1] that nothing could have been done in South Africa but for the extraordinary faith and labours of C. F. Andrews. Nevertheless had the Government of India been at all remiss in its prosecution of the Indian claim, the Areas Reservation Bill would certainly have been passed by the Union Parliament. It is a great gain that the Bill has been postponed and a conference agreed upon.

But there is a fly in the ointment. The Union Government's condition and its acceptance by the Government of India that the resolution must "safeguard Western standards of life by just and legitimate means" may make an equitable solution impossible. What is the meaning of "safeguarding Western standards of life" or of "just and legitimate means"? The safeguard may mean, for instance, that the indentured Indian working on the plantations and getting perhaps 30 shillings per month should live like the European artisan in a five-roomed brick-built cottage and wear the European costume from top to toe and eat European food; and "just and legitimate means" may be compulsory deportation of those indentured Indians who do not conform to the impossible safeguard; or "safeguarding by just and legitimate means" may mean reasonable sanitary and economic laws of common applicability ensuring on the part of all a standard of life in keeping with sanitary and hygienic requirements and regulation of all business in conformity to the European standard. Indians would have and should have no objection to the latter interpretation. Never have objections been raised to general sanitary or economic requirements.

But the correspondence just published enables me to understand what the Union Government will want. That Government wants repatriation, not reformation. It would not be party to the holding of a conference if the Government of India would not consent to that question being favourably considered at the Conference. Lord Reading cleverly got out of the difficulty by saying he had no objection to voluntary repatriation as limited by the

[1] *Vide* "Statement on South African Indian Problem", 24-4-1926.

Indian Relief Act being discussed. The Union Government could not very well insist upon the precise terms of repatriation being previously accepted. They therefore discovered the new formula of conformity to "Western standards of life". On the face of it, the condition is harmless enough. But it can be made to cover, as I have shown, impossibilities. Much will therefore depend upon what mentalities both parties bring to the Conference and what strength the Government of India shows. Hitherto it has surrendered the Indian claim every time there has been a tussle and has claimed it as a virtue that it has not yielded all the Union Government has aimed at. This is as much as to say that the judge in a cause did not permit the thief to retain all he had stolen. It must never be forgotten that every time the South African Government has admittedly without just cause sought to deprive the Indian settler of his just rights as a peaceful citizen of South Africa. The Government of India to be true to its trust should therefore have been able to show a record at each tussle of recovery of lost ground. The fact however is that had not the settlers in 1907 taken the law, as it were, into their own hands, they would have lost all, the Government of India being privy to it. For the Indian and the Imperial Governments had already consented in 1907 to the brutal Asiatic Act—the same that was in 1906 vetoed by Lord Elgin, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies. Though, therefore, the postponement of the Bill and the Conference is a tremendous step gained in the present campaign, if the Government of India weaken in the final heat, the present advantage will be counted as a wasted effort.

The public has thus as great need to be watchful as ever if the advantage is not to be lost. The breathing time must be fully utilized for a close study of the problem and for elucidating the fact that the only crime provable against the Indian settler is his Asiatic birth and the possession of a coloured pigment. It is statutory crime. For, the South African constitution in effect says: "There shall be no equality between whites on the one hand, and Coloured and Asiatic races on the other." South Africa believes as much in hereditary caste as we do in India.

Lastly, I must not omit to reiterate the opinion given in these columns that the salvation of the settlers lies finally in their own hands. The Government of India, public opinion, and even the Union Government and the white people of South Africa will help them if they will help themselves. Let them remove the slightest cause of complaint against them whether on grounds of hygiene or economics. In all things not immoral let them do "in Rome as

Romans do". Let them be and remain absolutely united. And above all let them be resolute in suffering for the common good.

Young India, 29-4-1926

450. MARCH FIGURES

The returns of production and sale of khadi for the month of March in several provinces are as follows:[1]

The figures of Karnatak are incomplete. There is no noticeable change in the position from February except in the sales of S. Maharashtra, Bombay and Utkal which show an increase over the February figures. The comparatively large sales in S. Maharashtra are due to the fact that the figure includes the sales effected in the khadi exhibitions that are being organized by Mr. Patwardhan.

As compared with the figures for the corresponding month last year wherever figures for comparison are available there is a general increase both in production and sales. The comparative figures are given below:[2]

The Tamilnad sale figure for the month of March 1925 is exceptional, owing to Mr. Bharucha's hawking tour.

Young India, 29-4-1926

451. NOT QUANTITY BUT QUALITY

Times without number have I been asked: "What can be done if we are so few. See how few spinners we have in the Spinners' Association? How few civil resisters? How few pucka non-co-operators? How few prohibitionists?" All this is, alas, too true. But when we come to think of it, what is there in numbers? The more relevant question is, how many true spinners, true civil resisters, true non-co-operators, true prohibitionists are there in the country? It is character, determination, and courage that will count in the end. And I wish I could say that we have 4,000 true spinners. What is a true spinner? A true spinner is not one who merely spins. In that case we have not four thousand but probably four hundred thousand spinners. It is not enough to spin. It is necessary to spin even and strong yarn regularly for the sake of India's paupers. Spinning, therefore, must not be a task but it

[1] Not reproduced here

[2] Not reproduced here

must be a pleasure. It is not enough to belong to the Association but it is necessary to invite others to do likewise. And a true spinner revolutionizes his life. He therefore understands the gospel of simplicity, appreciates the dignity of body-labour, recognizes that the greatest need of India is self-reliance and therefore work for the millions in their own homes which they can do with the simplest tools.

One is told that the revolution in Japan was brought about not through thousands of men but at the head of it were only 12 men who fired the zeal of fifty-five. And, probably, amongst these 12 was only one man who was the author of the whole plan. If a true beginning is made the rest is simple. We therefore arrive at the astonishing conclusion, which is none the less true, that one true man is enough for any reform no matter how impossible it may appear in the beginning. Ridicule, contempt and death may be and often is the reward of such a man. But though he may die, the reforms survive and prosper. He ensures their stability with his blood. I wish, therefore, that workers will think less of numbers irrespective of strength but more of the strength of the few. It is depth more than the width that is wanted. If we lay a stable foundation, posterity will be able to erect a solid structure upon it, whereas, if the foundation is built of sand, there will be no work for posterity except to dig out the sand to lay the foundation anew.

Young India, 29-4-1926

452. *NOTES*

The Good Samaritan

I received the following cablegram from the Secretary, South African Indian Congress, Durban, before the decision of the South African Government was known:

> Congress meeting assembled tender you grateful thanks for sending Mr. Andrews to South Africa, who nobly and strenuously worked bringing great change feeling both communities. May he enjoy long life, continue his noble work cause of humanity.

I have withheld from the public similar cablegrams received during Mr. Andrews' strenuous tour in South Africa but I felt I could no longer withhold the foregoing especially in view of the results attained. I am aware that the services of this selfless Englishman have not been always properly understood. He is no diplomat and therefore he sends cablegrams faithfully recording

his opinion and feelings from day to day. He is therefore at times despondent, at times optimistic, but if one were patiently to collect all the cablegrams that he has been sending during the past few months, one would trace in them all a never-to-be-missed ring of hope when to the sceptic there was no ground for hope. His last cable to me on the eve of his departure from South Africa told me not to lose hope because he was hopeful. If he had faith in the righteousness of the Indian cause, he had faith also in the South African statesmen. Andrews is a humanitarian, pure and simple, and therefore he trusts everybody. The whole world is free to deceive him and he would still say "Humanity! With all thy faults I love thee still". And this love of his enables him to surmount all barriers and cut his way straight to the hearts of people. He made himself heard in South Africa where, perhaps, others would have been hissed. He paved the way for the Paddison deputation.

The mention of the Paddison deputation enables me to add the testimony I have received from South Africa to the one that Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar gave in favour of Mr. Paddison when the deputation left. This is what a correspondent has written from South Africa:

> He is an Englishman by birth and an Indian in outlook. In fact, I see no difference between him and Mr. Andrews. It is a surprise that men of his talents should have risen no higher than the Labour Commissionership of Madras. Whether his strong Indian sympathies are responsible for this is more than I know at present.

All accounts received by me show that the members of the deputation discharged their trust faithfully and well. But even this deputation could not have done half as well as they did, without the spade work that was done by Andrews and the incessant toil put by him into it.

In the Grip of Untouchability

We have heard much about untouchability and unapproachability of Travancore because there was satyagraha there. The lamp of suffering brought the Travancore dirt to light but it seems that there is much more of it in Cochin than in Travancore. There the repeated attempts to bring even a resolution before the Cochin Legislative Assembly asking the Cochin State to remove the ban on the use of public roads by untouchables was disallowed.

An assiduous member enquired in the Cochin Legislative Assembly: "How many tanks and wells maintained by Government or Municipal funds were closed to untouchables?" The reply

was that 61 tanks and 123 wells were so closed. It would have been interesting if a supplementary question had been asked to elicit how many wells and tanks were accessible to untouchables.

Another question asked was: "On what ground was the use of certain roads constructed and maintained by the Public Works Department prohibited to untouchables," euphemistically called by the questioner "non-Hindus"? Reasons given without any sense of shame on behalf of the Cochin Government were: "The roads are in close proximity to temples and palace. There cannot be a sudden break with the past. Long-standing customs have to be respected". The reader must note the word "palace". One may suppose, therefore, that the *Panchama* has no right of personal petition, for, he cannot traverse roads near the palace, much less can he enter them. The officials who gave the heartless answer are able, educated and cultured men, in other walks of life even liberal minded; but they justify a cruel, heartless and irreligious custom on the grounds of antiquity.

One learns in law books that crimes and immoralities do not enjoy the benefit of prescription. Their antiquity cannot make them respectable. But it is evidently otherwise in the Cochin State. Who can deny that the custom of untouchability is immoral, barbarous and cruel? Thus the laws of Cochin State are in a way much worse than those of South Africa. The common law of South Africa refuses to admit equality between white and Coloured races. The common law of Cochin bases inequality on birth in a particular group. But the incidence of inequality in Cochin is infinitely more inhuman than in South Africa for, an untouchable in Cochin is deprived of more human rights than the Coloured man in South Africa. There is no such thing as unapproachability or invisibility in South Africa. I have no desire to single out Cochin for its disgraceful treatment of untouchables; for, it is still unfortunately common to Hindus all over India more or less. But, in Cochin, besides the so-called sanction of religion, untouchability has the sanction of the State. Mere levelling up of public opinion, therefore, can be of no avail in Cochin unless it becomes so strong as to compel the State to abolish the barbarous custom.

Room for Improvement

The Manager of the Technical Department of the All-India Spinners' Association has handed me the following names[1] of

[1] Not reproduced here

spinners who have sent in their yarn regularly, whose counts are over 25 and whose strands are well and neatly made:

It will be observed that in this list the first place is given to the spinner who has spun 46 counts. The highest count comes last but one. Aparna Devi who at a time occupied the first place stands 19th on the list in spite of her 113 counts. This is the note that accompanies the list:

> These yarns have been singled out for neatness and evenness. But even the best does not come up to the mill yarn standard.

It is therefore not without difficulty that these fine counts can be woven. The foregoing list therefore has been published more for the encouragement of these very spinners than as an example for others to copy. As these spinners have been sending in their quota more regularly and have shown considerable industry they are urged to put greater art into their work so that they may draw stronger threads than they have done hitherto.

Experiments are now being made by Sjt. Laxmidas Purshottam to demonstrate that given good cotton and good carding, it is possible to draw fine thread that would beat the strongest mill yarn of the same count. I hope to publish the results of his experiments at an early date. Meanwhile let the 27 spinners make their own experiments and send stronger yarn than they have been sending. I hope they realize that the twist should be given as they draw the yarn and not at the end of every draw and that the yarn should be sprayed and allowed to absorb the moisture before it is taken off the winder.

TOTAL PROHIBITION

A correspondent writes:[1]

I congratulate the villagers on the closing of their liquor shops. But if there had been a referendum probably very few, as in the Punjab, would have taken the trouble of registering their votes unless there had been personal canvassing.

Young India, 29-4-1926

[1] The letter, not reproduced here, stated that the closure of drink shops in villages—Illur, Kallamadi, Tarimela—had led to rejoicings by the villagers.

453. THE BENGAL RELIEF COMMITTEE

A correspondent sends me a cutting from *Welfare* commenting upon the operations of the Bengal Relief Committee. The article reviews the report of the Committee. The correspondent says:

> As it seriously questions the utility of khaddar organizations as relief measures, I would beg you to request Sir P. C. Ray or the Khadi Pratishthan to offer their explanation with facts and figures. I might add that I am a habitual wearer of khadi though I am sorry I am not a self-spinner; some of the ladies of my family are. I mention this to assure you that I am not prejudiced against khaddar.

But the explanation was unnecessary. Anything mentioned in Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee's magazine would naturally command weight and deserve attention. I therefore immediately passed the cutting and the letter on to Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta and he has promptly sent the following[1] signed by Dr. Ray and himself. I need not reproduce the *Welfare* article as the crux of the *Welfare* objections is summarized in Dr. Ray's reply.

Young India, 29-4-1926

454. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 30, 1926

MY DEAR YOUNG FRIEND BHRRR,

I have your letter full of youthful zeal. Some people grow older with years. You are reversing the process. I envy you and I shall now have to tell the people the whiter your beard the younger you are becoming. May the process continue for a long time to come.

By way of change and in order to compare notes, if you feel like it by all means come for the All-India Congress Committee seeing that you are so near. You may suspend your tour for two or three days.

I hope what you say about Ramdas is really true. I know that he is a fine nurse and has a faculty for serving elderly, I beg your pardon, in your case, young people like yourself.

[1] Not reproduced here

The hot weather has now commenced here in right earnest.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 9554

455. LETTER TO PYARELAL NAYYAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 30, 1926

MY DEAR PYARELAL,

I have not heard from you at all. You must not keep me in suspense. How is your health and how do you pass your time?

Regarding the spinning essay, I am in correspondence with Varadachari and Ganesan. Hence I have not sent the thing to you. But I will, after the full copy is made. Subbiah is now at it.

I have heard from Mathuradas. Between Sinhgarh and Matheran, I prefer Sinhgarh. In any case, Mr. Ambalal is not here. If necessary I could certainly find out his address and telegraph to see whether his bungalow is available. If, therefore, Dr. Mehta advises Matheran and if Mr. Ambalal's bungalow is required you will consult Mathuradas and telegraph to me.

Yours,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19510

456. LETTER TO URMILA DEVI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 30, 1926

MY DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. You need not worry about my health. I gained one pound during the last week. The heat does not trouble me though at the present moment we are certainly boiling.

I am delighted with your description of your hospital. I was a little uneasy over the delay. When you meet Dr. Bidhan[1] do please give him my regards and congratulations. I am glad you are taking so much interest in it. It would be a fine thing if you

[1] Dr. B. C. Roy

can attach yourself to the hospital. It is worth doing. When many things will have been forgotten this memorial will be remembered. The memory of him will grow if the institution becomes a living force in the life of Calcutta.

I would not tempt you to come to Sabarmati for the A.I.C.C. meeting. I hardly think you could bear the dry heat of this place but it will be perfect during the Puja holidays when the rains will be in full swing; you could then stay as long as you like and if your presence is not required there you could stay till it is time to go to Assam.

Yours,

From a photostat: S.N. 19511

457. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 30, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter as also the book on Buddhism with the pages marked with exceptional care and neatness which are all your own. I read these pages through the very day I received the book, if only in appreciation of the exact manner in which you had tied the pages for me.

You have not yet told me anything about Hemaprabhadevi. I wonder.

Yours,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19512

458. LETTER TO ESTHER MENON

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 30, 1926

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have your letter. I do feel disturbed about your health. You must regain your original freshness and strength. When do you expect your sickness?

I am sorry to hear about the disorganization of Miss Petersen's school. I have not received any yarn yet from the girls referred to by you. You can have as much khaddar rags as you want

and soft used khaddar.[1] If you tell me what length you require I shall see to it being sent. It is difficult to fix any price for used khaddar. You will therefore either send what you can or not at all. You will not stint yourself in anything for the sake of paying for the khaddar that you may order nor will you on this account hesitate to ask for the exact quantity you want.

I am glad that Menon is helping poor patients in the way he is doing. What does it matter so long as you make both ends meet and it need not matter even if one cannot make both ends meet in acts of service.

Andrews reaches Bombay tomorrow.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat. Courtesy: National Archives of India; also *My Dear Child*, p. 80

459. LETTER TO G. K. DEVADHAR

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 30, 1926

MY DEAR DEVADHAR,

I hope Manorama reached the Seva Sadan in safety. She left here on Sunday last. She was given Rs. 10 for her fare by the Manager who did not know that she has received already her fare up to Bombay from Jamnalalji. You will please therefore find out from her what she did with the Rs. 6 odd she received from Seth Jamnalalji for her fare up to Bombay when she contemplated returning there. The money should be recovered from her if she still has the amount and may be kept by you for the Seva Sadan.

I would certainly love to discuss with you the co-operative movement and understand its real usefulness. I discussed it with the Registrar or Assistant Registrar in Bihar and with several other friends connected with the co-operative movement but find its usefulness up to a certain limit. Beyond that they have not been able to convince me of its national value as it is being conducted today.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 19513

[1] For nappies for the baby

460. LETTER TO BHUKANSHARAN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, April 30, 1926

BHAI BHUKANSHARANJI,

I have your letter and the hundred rupee currency note sent with it. I intend to utilize the amount on charkha and khadi work, for by that means we can serve the largest number of the poor.

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19515

461. LETTER TO NAGARDAS LALLUBHAI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 30, 1926

BHAISHRI NAGARDAS,

I had your letter. In Wadhwan we offer far higher rates than those prevailing in Kathiawar and Gariyadhar. This makes the khadi expensive. From your report and from my talk with Fulchand, I see that the women who have been spinning are not without any means of living or without occupation. Perhaps they spin in response to our appeal and because they realize that it is for the good of the country. The charkha movement was not conceived with such people in view. The assumption underlying it was that in India millions of men and women are half-starved and, though able-bodied, are idle for want of work. The central idea of the spinning movement is to get such people to spin and then sell the khadi made from the yarn produced by them. The khadi produced in Wadhwan does not serve this aim. That is what I feel. If I am right, I think we should stop our work in Wadhwan. In case we have to do this the khadi that is stocked there can be disposed of. We may continue it provided we get women who will spin for a little amount at the end of the day, carders who will do the carding at the rate of two and a half rupees and weavers who will accept wages at rates prevailing elsewhere. Otherwise we should stop it. Discuss this suggestion with other workers and let me know what you think.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 10879

462. LETTER TO HASAM HIRJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, April 30, 1926

BHAISHRI HASAM HIRJI,

Now I have another letter from you before I could reply to your first. I will answer the main question in your first letter through *Navajivan* when I get time. I will reply to your second letter here.

Aparigraha is an ideal condition. It can be said that an ideal is never realized perfectly. But we should not lower our ideal on this account. No one has ever been able to draw the ideal straight line of geometry but we may not, for that reason, change its definition. If we draw a straight line, keeping the ideal one in our view, we shall succeed in drawing a line which will serve our purpose. But if we modify the definition, we will be like a boat without the rudder. There is nothing wrong with money as a piece of metal; evil comes through its use. Keeping this in mind, we should sincerely try to realize the ideal of *aparigraha* as best as we can. Let us now examine the instances which you have imagined. The world will lose nothing if the rich give up their wealth voluntarily; on the contrary, it will benefit by their action, because a new and powerful force is generated as a result of a sincere act of *aparigraha*. No one can act in such matters mechanically. He alone who feels a spontaneous urge in his heart will act, and will deserve credit for his action. There is no danger or possibility of the entire world acting upon the ideal of *aparigraha*. But assuming that it does, I have no doubt that it will find no difficulty in maintaining itself. There are people in this world who do not stock anything to meet their needs even for one day. You need not believe that such persons would starve if there were not in the world other people who stored things.

Just as in the law enforced by governments a crime does not cease to be a crime for being committed unintentionally, so also a violation of divine law committed in ignorance does not cease to be a violation. Adultery committed under the influence of alcohol is none the less the same. "To ask for forgiveness" and "to receive forgiveness" are beautiful ideas. I act on both the principles. But I have always believed that forgiveness in this sense does not mean what is commonly understood by it. A sincere desire to be

forgiven increases our humility; we are able to see our weakness, and this knowledge gives us the strength to be good. Hindus, Muslims, Christians, and others have employed innumerable epithets to describe God, but they are all products of our own imagination. God is without attributes and beyond all qualification. But again I am speaking about the ideal; if, however, we do not understand the ideal and seriously believe that God is subject to all the epithets with which we describe Him, He would be like us, an embodiment of errors. We should, therefore, know Him as stainless and without form, and then we may heap on Him as many epithets as we choose, for that is the only language which He has given us. Apart from this, we cannot escape the fruits of our action. This is the universal law and therein lies His mercy. This world would not endure even for one moment if He were to keep amending His laws and commandments, as we do either to favour some or correct an error which might have been noticed. The Reality which we call God is a mysterious, indescribable and unique power. If we cannot comprehend Him with our mind, how can our poor speech describe Him?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 10902

463. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, April 30, 1926

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I have your letter. I am sending Chi. Maganlal's criticism for your information. I see that Abbas Saheb is doing fine work. What shall I write to Ramjibhai about the car? I understand from what you say in your letter that for the present you want him to keep the car as it is.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19516

466. MESSAGE FOR "FREEDOM"

May 1, 1926

'Freedom' is an attractive name to give to a newspaper. But it is a much abused term. When a slave-holder talks of freedom, we know that it means freedom to use his slave as he chooses without let or hindrance. A drunkard's freedom means ability to drink on till he is bereft of his sense and a long time after. Whose and what freedom will this paper stand for is a relevant question. The fact that it is Pandit Motilalji's creation itself is one assurance that freedom means the freedom of the masses. And freedom of the masses means their ability to cope and do away with the condition of semi-starvation in which millions of them are living. This aspect of freedom appeals to me the most at the present moment; because freedom of the masses automatically involves freedom of the untouchables and freedom of people belonging to different religions to follow out their religious convictions without let or hindrance from anybody. And, freedom of the masses in the manner I have explained is an utter impossibility without the revival of hand-spinning and therefore intensive khaddar propaganda as a central fact.

Let me hope that *Freedom* will in season and out of season impress upon its readers the national importance of this central fact of the life of the masses with whom, if we want swaraj, we must identify ourselves.

M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 19523

467. LETTER TO SRI PRAKASA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 1, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have not been able to reach your letter till now. Here is my article[1] if it may be so called for *Freedom*.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SRI PRAKASA
SEVASHRAMA
BENARES CANTT.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19523

468. MESSAGE ON ANDREWS'S RETURN FROM SOUTH AFRICA

[*May 1, 1926*][2]

The best welcome that we can give to Mr. Andrews and the one he will appreciate most is to make a fixed determination to vindicate India's honour by insisting on and securing the just rights of the settlers. This can only be done if we emulate Mr. Andrews's immense energy, studiousness, indomitable courage, unfaltering hope and living faith in God and his humanity.

M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-5-1926

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] C. F. Andrews arrived in Bombay on this date.

469. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 1, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

Chhotalalji is coming to you. His nerves are high strung through excessive work and he has made drastic experiments in reducing food to its simplest and most economic terms. The result is that his health is much impaired. He is in love with you. He wants to study your organization and wants to do some easy work which can almost be termed recreation. He has an idea that he will be more useful for my personal service if he learns shorthand and typewriting. I have told him I do not think so especially now that I have Subbiah with me. I would not think of using Chhotalalji as a shorthand reporter and typist when I know that he is a khadi expert in many of its branches. But he is an absolutely free agent. To learn shorthand is no sin and if he wants to learn it and typing, he shall do so.

You will therefore discuss with him freely the manner in which he should pass two or three months there and do the needful. You know that he is a silent bird. Therefore you will have to draw him out and cheer him up. The act of cheering him up will have its reaction upon you which I would like.

Give me your impressions of this horrible rioting in Calcutta.

Yours,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19521

470. DRAFT AGREEMENT FOR LOANS FROM ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION

[*May 1, 1926*][1]

I, in my capacity as the sole proprietor of the Pravartak Sangh in Chandranagar and elsewhere in accordance with the schedule hereto annexed, hereby acknowledge having received from the All-India Spinners' Association, Ahmedabad, the sum of Rs. 6000/- (Rupees six thousand only) in cash as a loan payable in five years after the date hereof at the office of the Khadi

[1] *Vide* the succeeding two items.

Pratishthan, 170, Bow Bazaar Road, Calcutta, or any other place that may be appointed by you from time to time.

The loan shall bear interest at one per cent per annum payable quarterly at the above office or any other office that may be appointed by you from time to time.

The receipt of the principal or the interest by your agent, Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta of the said Khadi Pratishthan, or any other person appointed by you in writing from time to time shall be sufficient proof of payment of principal or interest.

The conditions of the said loan are:—

(1) That the money received shall be used for the production of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar in Bengal.

(2) The selling prices of khaddar shall be not more than the cost price up to weaving plus 6¼% for the expenses of management.

(3) The Pravartak Sangh shall not directly or indirectly deal in what is known as half-khadi, that is, cloth in which mill-spun yarn has been used or which is machine-woven or cloth manufactured in Indian or foreign mills.

(4) The Pravartak Sangh shall not raise any other loan on mortgage of the scheduled property without the previous written consent of the Association.

(5) The Pravartak Sangh shall keep a proper account of all the hand-spinning and khaddar transactions and its central and branch depots in connection with khaddar production shall be open to inspection by the nominee or nominees of the Association during office hours and the Pravartak Sangh shall render to the Secretary, All-India Spinners' Association, Ahmedabad, quarterly accounts of all its khaddar transactions.

(6) In the event of a breach by the Pravartak Sangh of any of the foregoing conditions, it shall be open to the All-India Association to declare the loan payable on demand. The Association shall be the sole judge of the breach of the said conditions.

From a microfilm: S.N. 11174

471. LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 1, 1926

DEAR MOTIBABU,

I have your letter. There has been some delay as Mr. Banker is not in Sabarmati.

Here is a document[1] to be signed by you. The document should be signed by you in the presence of two witnesses and it should be witnessed also by a Magistrate in Chandranagar. If you will kindly send the document duly executed to Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta, he has instructions to pay you Rs. 6,000/- against delivery of the document. Instructions are being sent to the Treasurer to send him the money by the same post that will carry this letter.

I need hardly tell you that the conditions that have been incorporated in the accompanying document are the conditions to be found in all the documents held by the Association. What is more, some definite security has also been taken from the other organizations to which loans have been given. The last condition has been waived in your case because yours is a big organization and the loan is comparatively small.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 11173

472. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 1, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

Shankerlal is not here at the present moment. Pravartak Sangh's affair has been hanging fire for some time and they are naturally pressing for the loan. I have therefore concocted a document of which I send you a copy herewith as also a copy of my letter to Moti Babu[2].

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] Motilal Roy

Rs. 6,000/- is being sent to you. Please pay the amount upon delivery of the document duly signed by Moti Babu.

Encs. 2

Yours,

From a microfilm: S.N. 11174

473. LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA GARU

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 1, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your letters including the one under reply with reference to the complaint from the ladies of Bombay regarding the prices of fine Andhra khaddar. I forwarded the whole of the correspondence to these sisters. They now understand the position. I wanted to give them an authoritative information from you so as to enable them to take such action as they may choose.

I share your misgivings about the compromise and the present situation generally. But I have full faith that sooner or later things will right themselves. In the compromise I have simply acted as peace-maker. I cannot reconcile myself to Council-entry. As time passes I feel more and more convinced that some of our troubles are due to the Council-entry. So long as non-co-operators refrained from going to the Councils it was possible to keep the mass from that pernicious influence but now that non-co-operators have tasted the forbidden fruit, they are naturally taking a portion of the mass within the zone of that influence. We may not grumble at all these things. They are a result of the process of purification. It would be enough if the few who are still out remain so not out of fashion but out of conviction.

I hope you are keeping good health. Are you taking any active part in the constructive portion of the Congress programme?

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA GARU
SESHAMMA'S CHOULTRY
BENGALORE CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19524

474. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday [*May 1, 1926*][1]

BHAI RAMESHWARJI,

I have your letter. I will get the Rs. 50. It is difficult to cure your physical ailment till your mental illness is cured. You might possibly benefit by living in a quiet place for some time. And of course there is *Ramanama*.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 163

475. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday [*May 1, 1926*][2]

BHAISHRI DEVCHANDBHAI,

I have your letter. Do get a plan of the building[3] prepared and write to Thakore Saheb[4]. If we get his permission we can at least have the foundation laid. May we not use on this the funds collected for the Mansukhlal memorial?

BAPU

[PS.]

There is no news yet from Porbandar. It would be good if you make a trip there.[5]

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5707

[1] From the postmark
[2] From the postmark
[3] Of a National School
[4] Lakhajiraj, Prince of Rajkot
[5] The postcript is in Gandhiji's hand.

476. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKER PATTANI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, May 1, 1926

LEARNED FRIEND,

I was very happy to read your letter. I had not thought that your hand had become steady and that you could write. Yesterday I had the telegram as requested by me and today I get a letter in your own hand. I hope I shall continue to get a letter or a postcard daily for some days. The diet is excellent. I hope the milk is not boiled thick; after a fast, one should never take such milk. The use of soda helps. I am eager to see you when you are well enough to move about and to hear from you this story of atonement.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19519

477. LETTER TO KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, Chaitra Vad 4 [*May 1, 1926*][1]

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I have your letter. You unnecessarily reproach yourself. I do not give my reasons, but tell you my decision that you should not go elsewhere, but come straight here along with Shri . . .'s[2] daughter and all the children. It is all right if Gomati is responding to the *vaid's* treatment there; otherwise my own wish is that you should give up the idea of going for a change of air, stop even the *vaid's* treatment and live here, whatever the climate. I had given up all thought of medicine for Gomati when we tried fasting. We have tried the best remedy. Now we should, I feel, leave the matter entirely to God. However, if you feel inclined to stay for a month in Dumas, you may certainly go. In your present circumstances, I think it would be best for you to accept Balubhai as your cook for whatever he is worth. But he should be given to understand that after entrusting the children to you he

1 From the reference to the cancellation of Gandhiji's trip to Mussoorie and the talk about one to Finland

2 Omission as in the source

must not disturb the arrangement. A "curator bonis" will have to be appointed for the two brothers. I think we may appoint Jamnalalji. You must have heard in detail why the trip to Mussoorie was cancelled. I knew that the decision would please Nath. This is the position about Finland: There students from the whole world. . . .[1]

From a copy of the Gujarati: S.N. 19520

478. LETTER TO NARGIS CAPTAIN

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 1, 1926

I have your letter. You have learnt now all about my cancellation of the Mussoorie visit and not going to Mahab[a]leshwar. I wrote to the Governor that it will be more convenient for me to meet him at Poona or Bombay. He has therefore postponed the meeting till he comes down from the hills. I am glad of the saving of time and trouble, but I am certainly sorry that I shall not see you and Mithubehn for some time now. I would also [have] loved to have met Manekbai and Mr. Bahadurji. I beg his pardon for calling him doctor which I did absent-mindedly.

Mithubehn tells me you are not still looking as well as you should. I wish you could still go to Kashmir.

Up to very recently the weather here has been delightfully cool and we were all getting anxious because such cool weather was no preparation for the rains. We are now having real hot weather and therefore everybody is glad. For, if this hot spell continues, one may look forward to early rains in June.

PS.

The foregoing was dictated yesterday. Today I have a letter from Mathuradas, who is you are aware in Deolali, saying that Dr. Mehta wants him to go to Panchgani. He thinks Deolali too hot in May and part of June till the rains set in. He rejects the idea of Matheran or Sinhgarh. I tried to get for him Sir Prabhashanker Pattani's house but it is not available till June. Can you yourself or through your friend find out whether it is possible to secure something for Mathuradas for a month or five or six weeks? He must shift to Panchgani if it is possible at the earliest opportunity. Of course, Mathuradas will pay the rent. If

[1] As in the source

him, and that my meeting did no harm to the national cause. To me, personally, it brought nothing but gain since I could form a correct estimate of him, and can now say that I let go no real opportunity, through pride or weakness, of arriving at a settlement. On this occasion, too, I expect nothing but gain from a meeting with the Governor. I shall be able to place my views before him, will see and correct any error there may be in my line of reasoning and will know his views about agriculture. His Excellency certainly knows that I am a non-co-operator, that I have no faith in commissions and can take no part in their work. All this is public knowledge. If, therefore, I am invited to meet the Governor, no one need have any fears on my account.

To Workers in the Cause of Cow-protection

As there are some who entertain fears about the possible consequences of my meeting the Governor, there are others, too, who hanker after some gain from it. I have received a letter and a telegram suggesting that I should tell the Governor about the loss to agriculture through the export and slaughter of cattle. I wish to tell those workers in the cause of cow-protection that, even if I had an opportunity to discuss this subject with the Governor, I would most certainly not do what they wish me to do. I see one great weakness in these workers, namely, that they do not make a patient and scientific study of this problem. Shri Valji Desai has undertaken a careful study of the reasons for the destruction of the cattle-wealth of the country. His articles on the subject have been appearing regularly in *Young India* and *Navajivan*. One will understand the causes of the miserable condition of the cattle even from these articles. Though I believe that the Government can do a great deal in this field, there is much which the people, too, can do. And so long as the people have not become alive to their responsibility in this matter and public opinion has not been educated, the cattle-wealth cannot be saved from destruction, no matter what laws the Government makes. The problem involves difficult economic and ethical issues. But one would think that we could spare no time to reflect even for a moment on what economics and ethics have to tell us about cattle, such is our pathetic condition. Thanks to fanaticism, we have lost the true sense of dharma and we are too lethargic to study economics. Merely telling beads to the name of Mother Cow will help us to serve neither her nor Mother India. We can serve her and her progeny and, by protecting her, serve ourselves only by understanding the meaning of cow-worship and taking measures accordingly. I suggest to my

correspondents to reflect over the articles on this subject which appear in this paper from time to time. They may point out any error of logic or facts, which they may see; if they see none, they should follow the suggestions made in them.

SURAT VINAY MANDIR

A friend has written to me making some complaints against the Rashtriya Vinay Mandir[1], at Surat, the reason for writing to me being that he has heard a rumour to the effect that the control and management of the Mandir are to be handed over to me. Instead of discussing the complaints, let me state the existing position. I have known Shri Dayalji and Shri Kalyanji for the past ten years. When they told me on behalf of the Committee that the only way to bring order in the affairs of the Mandir was to hand over control to me, I thought it necessary that I should accept the responsibility. My correspondent suggests that control has been handed over to me at a time when the Mandir is on its last legs, so that the responsibility for its death may be mine. Even if that be so, how can I refuse to share, wherever I can, the responsibility of co-workers? When agreeing to take over control of the Mandir, I made it plain that I shall do nothing without Vallabhbhai's advice and take no step which would not be subject to the general supervision of the Vidyapith. This condition was accepted by the two friends, Dayalji and Kalyanji. I now intend to discuss with Vallabhbhai the question of setting up a Trust for the Mandir. Meanwhile, with the consent of Shri Nrisinhprasad, *Kulanayaka* of the Mandir, I have provisionally appointed Shri Narahari Parikh as its *Acharya*, and given him the authority to introduce any changes in the running of the institution which he may find necessary and increase or reduce the teaching staff. The Mandir which was run in the Patidar Ashram has been merged with the school in Gopipura. This step, it is hoped, will enable the authorities to retrench six posts of teachers. Any changes in the curriculum which are found necessary will also be introduced. When the Mandir reopens after the holidays, Shri Nrisinhprasad intends to visit it and observe the conditions. Moreover, though it is true that control has been handed over to me, this does not mean that Shri Dayalji and Shri Kalyanji will cease to take further interest in the Mandir. Not only will they not do this, but on the contrary they will be my hands and feet in the task entrusted to me. I, therefore, hope that the merchants who have been contri-

[1] National Primary School

buting towards the expenses of the school will continue their contributions according to their promise. The accounts of the school will be published regularly with the necessary audit reports.

To N. A. P.

To me your question itself seems to spring from morbidity. The instances from British life which I mentioned[1] had no connection with the point whether or not the people there live a luxurious life; it is all a matter of custom. When a person living in a hot country goes to a cold country, he has to exercise greater care to protect himself against the cold than the residents of the country need do; in the same way I believe it very necessary for Indian youths to exercise special care [when they go to England]. It was not my intention to suggest that all or most young men in England remain perfectly pure; all that I wished to suggest was that some of the freedom which people take in England may be harmless. If we take that freedom, we would sully our purity. The moral laxity which we find among the young in England is the effect, not of the limited freedom which I have described, but of other factors which are easy to appreciate. A person who keeps away from drinks because he understands the evil of drinking is not a coward but a wise man, that is, a man of discrimination. Evil desires spring from inner darkness, from lack of discrimination and ignorance of the true end of human life. The suggestions which I have made for being able to observe *brahmacharya* are not copy-book maxims or the result of ingenious guesswork; they represent my own experience, and that of others too, over a long period of time. I would, therefore, advise you not to dismiss Chapter XIX of *An Autobiography* without trying to understand it properly. I know lustful persons who are vegetarians on principle, who wear only a khadi shirt and cap and live an outwardly simple life but dwell in their minds on pleasures and luxuries, and I also know real *brahmacharis* who, following the practice in their country, eat meat and have always dressed themselves in coat and trousers. The main thing is to be simple in one's thoughts. If a man harbours the violence of meat-eating in his thoughts and his mind dwells on the pleasures of a grand palace, do not believe, merely because his body lives on fruits and is covered merely with a bit of blanket, that he lives or can live a blameless life. Anyone who wants to live a life untroubled by impure desires or to acquire such purity must always remain vigilant.

[1] *Vide An Autobiography* Pt. I, Ch. XIX.

You seem to confuse the caution of a vigilant person with cowardice. If so, you are in the grip of a terrible error. Please wake up.

A CAUTION

A newspaper correspondent informs me from Aden that a woman known by the name of Benibai has arrived there and has been cheating credulous people by posing as my daughter. A similar thing had happened in Rangoon and Mombasa, and it seems this same woman had gone to those places. I cautioned people some time ago that I have no daughter, and that I have not authorized anyone to collect money in my name.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 2-5-1926

480. KHADI IN KATHIAWAR

The reader will find in this issue nearly the whole of the Report sent in by Shri Lakshmidas after inspecting the work of the three khadi centres in Kathiawar.

The Khadi Karyalaya in Amreli has been taken over by the Kathiawar Political Conference. I intend to publish its accounts shortly in *Navajivan*. Just now I only wish to draw attention to Shri Lakshmidas's Report.

The reader will observe that it is only in places where famine conditions prevail that khadi is produced by paying spinners. We shall not discuss at the moment whether the khadi so produced turns out to be cheaper or dearer [than that manufactured from yarn spun by amateurs]. It will suffice to admit at present that, though the quality of khadi is very much better than what it used to be, it will not prove as strong as mill khadi of the same count. Even so, no one should feel any doubt, after reading this Report that residents of Kathiawar should always prefer khadi produced in Kathiawar. If what is stated in the Report is true, people who wear such khadi are helping victims of famine. It is very much better to make them self-supporting than to help them with free doles. There can be no argument about this. Moreover, everyone cannot afford to contribute money for free doles, but certainly every person of ordinary means can afford to help by purchasing khadi, which costs more than other cloth, and making up for the loss by economizing in other matters.

I, therefore, hope that the people of Kathiawar will welcome the present sale-tour of Abbas Saheb among them. From a report

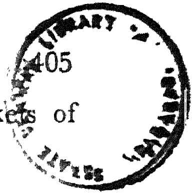
which I have received from Wadhwan, I see that he was enthusiastically welcomed by the residents of the place, and that there was no one who did not show him due respect. I hope that, as his tour progresses, he will get more and more encouragement.

The suggestion to khadi workers in Lakshmidas's Report deserves attention. Water flows into the public trough only in proportion to the quantity in the well. Workers will be able to inspire faith in others only in the measure that they themselves have it, and the strength which they lack in themselves they will not be able to draw from others. If the women who spin also learn carding, they will earn twice as much and the public will get better yarn. They can earn money by carding, which they do not at present. As long as the workers themselves are not proficient in carding, they cannot inspire enthusiasm for carding among the women who spin, let alone being able to teach them the art.

The suggestion about testing the strength of yarn deserves the same attention as that about carding. This is necessary to ensure the strength of the yarn. If the quality of yarn is carefully maintained, khadi will become cheaper. That is, with the same rates of payment as at present, there will be improvement in regard to quality and price. In big factories, they are able to increase the profits, without raising the prices of the products, merely by skilful management. In our innumerable factories—for every hut is a spinning-mill—let the workers increase their earnings through improved efficiency and also reduce the burden on the people. In those big factories, what with the innumerable financial manipulations and changes in the exchange-rate which they resort to and which result in crores of rupees changing hands, the workers are always exploited. In our factories, improved efficiency will not mean large sums changing hands in this manner but will generate, rather, a spirit of equality and promote the welfare of the workers in corresponding measure. These happy results depend on the spirit of self-sacrifice, efficiency, perseverance, humility and energy which khadi workers may be able to display.

Let nobody draw the conclusion from my observations or Shri Lakshmidas's Report that the work done so far has been wasted or that it was not done properly. What we both mean is that our work is so well organized now that we are in a position to take a step forward. It is our duty to see that, with experience, our work goes on improving. There is no doubt that, relatively speaking, khadi has made excellent progress. Now the consumers need to satisfy themselves only whether

1 khadi workers are honest and hard-working;



2 the money which they pay for khadi goes into the pockets of the poor;
3 the women who spin are really helped;
4 it is a fact that they would not be able to make both ends meet if they did not get spinning-work; and
5 it is a fact that they have no other more remunerative work.

If the replies to these questions are in the affirmative, the people of Kathiawar should, without considering whether khadi is cheap or costly, see that the khadi produced in Kathiawar does not remain unsold.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 2-5-1926

481. ABOUT MILL-WORKERS

The movement among the mill-workers in Ahmedabad against the drink-evil is proceeding very well at present. All people may not know that in America, where only a few years ago every worker used to drink, they have stopped drinking for some years now. Their paper has published the following information.

Millions of rail-road workers have, in their Union meetings, welcomed prohibition and recounted their experience that drinking turns good citizens and workers into bad ones and good husbands into cruel ones. They have also declared that, had the workers continued to drink, the hundreds of workers' banks which have been formed and in which millions of their dollars are deposited would never have come into existence. The Secretary of their Union has stated that during the last four years Labour Unions in America have been rapidly throwing up honest and able leaders.

If the mill-workers in Ahmedabad also realize the sin of drinking and understand that liquor is a poison and give it up, one can easily imagine the improvement in their condition which will follow.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 2-5-1926

482. LETTER TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

May 2, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have before me a translation by Mira of your kind and touching letter of 17th February last. I have been anticipating your permission to make cautious use of portions of that letter without mentioning your name.

I am glad you think with me that the proper course for me was not to come to Europe this year.

With reference to India being heard in Europe, I hold the view that India will not be heard in Europe or the West until she has suffered more, and on a more extensive scale than hitherto. Hers will be a voice in the wilderness at the present moment. And I feel even the hired, and in some cases bribed, journalists of Europe will shudder to take as gospel truth all the manifest and one-sided exaggerations and falsehoods circulated by the B.G.[1] if India is not represented. I feel too that this non-violent battle does not need the same kind of propaganda that a battle based on violence would. Thirdly there is the practical difficulty that you mention of finding one who can be at all heard. The only person I have in view for the moment is Andrews, since the Poet[2] is unavailable. Andrews will certainly be heard in the quarters that matter.

I hope you are keeping well and that God will permit you to hold out till the battle is fairly over in India.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gleanings, pp. 6-7

[1] British Government
[2] Rabindranath Tagore

483. *A LETTER*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have had your letter for a long time with me. But I have not been able to reach your letter earlier.

Your letter of the 29th ultimo puts me in mind that I must now hasten to reply to you. I am afraid that the Ashram life will not suit you. It is all hard work commencing with cleaning closet buckets and ending with agriculture, cooking, etc. There is little time left for literary pursuits. From all I can understand of your life, it appears to me that you would hardly be able to stand the life and atmosphere at the Ashram. I therefore suggest to you that if you still feel that you should come and stay at the Ashram, you may pay a preliminary visit to see things for yourself and then decide.

There is another difficulty also. At the present moment the Ashram is over-crowded. I have no room, therefore, to spare. I could not therefore give you even the privacy that you perhaps want and I would like to provide. If in spite of....[1]

From a microfilm: S.N. 19525

484. *LETTER TO D. VENKATA RAO*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter as also Krishnabai's. I understand the position and appreciate it. I quite agree with you and Krishnabai that her talent for painting should be developed. I therefore quite understand her desire to stay with you and go on with her painting work. I would like to have some photographic specimens of her work.

[1] Incomplete in the source

imitate what others do, we should show in our conduct all those virtues which we want them to cultivate. From this point of view, a guardian should particularly observe *brahmacharya*, follow truth and non-violence and display fearlessness, courage, magnanimity, humility and so on.

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19529

488. THE CONGRESS RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA

May 5, 1926

The All-India Congress Committee met at Ahmedabad on 5th May and passed the following resolution prepared by Mr. Gandhi on the South African situation:

The All-India Congress Committee congratulates the Government of India and the Union Government upon the postponement of the Class Areas Reservation Bill pending the deliberations of a Conference between the two Governments.

The All-India Congress Committee further congratulates the South African Indian Deputation and the Indian settlers on the happy result of their efforts.

The All-India Congress Committee tenders its respectful thanks to Mr. C. F. Andrews for his great sacrifices and for his energy and undying hope and faith, without which the result, so far achieved, would have been impossible.

The All-India Congress Committee, while noting the results of the Government of India's negotiations so far, warns the public against slackening the efforts on behalf of the Indian settlers of South Africa, and hopes that they will not rest until the position of the settlers is placed on an honourable and satisfactory basis.

The President is authorized to send the message of congratulation to the Union Government.

The Indian Review, May 1926, p. 340

489. NOTES

PROHIBITION AND MADRAS GOVERNMENT

Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari has unearthed a Government order which is simplicity itself but which conveys a world of meaning. In a note accompanying a copy of the order Sjt. Rajagopalachari writes to the press:

> Among the many post-Reform additions to our recurring charges are the new Health Officers and their staff. They are expected to educate the people about cholera, malaria, etc.

Some of the members of the staff seem to have enquired whether they should carry on propaganda against the drink habit also and the laconic reply received was:

> The Government consider that the Public Health staff should not carry on anti-drink propaganda.

It is to be noted here that there is no reason assigned for the ban on anti-drink propaganda. On the contrary, one would expect explicit instructions to these conservators of health to instruct the people about the evil effects of drink on the body under a popular Government. They would be required to tell the people how deadly the effect of alcohol is upon the human body and show by magic lantern slides in a graphic manner the ruin that alcohol brings wherever it finds a place. But it is madness to expect the existing Government to do any such thing. One may as well expect the keeper of a public house to warn its visitors against running into the death-trap. Is not the Government the keeper of all the public houses of India? It is the 25 crores revenue that enables us to give University education to our children. It enables the Government to impose *pax Britannica* upon us. Not till the people realize their duty and develop strength to resist the Government in its pro-drink policy will it be possible to have a dry India.

PROHIBITION IN AMERICA

One hears so much about prohibition being a failure in America that it is refreshing to find references which prove the contrary. The cuttings that a correspondent has sent show that delegates to the Middle-West Students' Conference representing 1,23,000 college students in the South-East and Middle-West of America passed resolutions opposing liquor drinking by students.

The February issue of the journal of the Locomotive Engineers contains the following: [1]

> The railroad brotherhoods as well as hundreds of thousands of sober, industrious working men in the American Federation of Labour are opposed to drink because they know it never made any man a better citizen, a better worker, or a better husband or father. We do not believe the remarkable growth of labour co-operative banks in this country would have been possible if the working men were still putting their savings over the bar. We are further convinced that the progress of the American labour movement depends upon leaders with clear, cool heads and not upon those whose brains are addled by alcohol. Perhaps it is worth noting that the leaders of British labour, who have made much substantial progress economically, and politically, since the War, are overwhelmingly dry. . . .

It is not my purpose to make the reader believe that prohibition in America has been wholly successful. I have read enough literature on the gigantic experiment to know that there is another side to the picture. But allowing for all the exaggerations on either side, there is little doubt that prohibition has been a great boon to that wonderful people. It is yet too early to state results with certainty. The problem is much simpler in India, if only we have all the bars and distilleries closed.

CHARKHA IN ANDHRA SCHOOLS

Here is an extract[2] from the report prepared by the Bhumavaram Taluk Board, West Godavari District:

A report[3] from Tirupati Municipal Council shows figures of spinning in its schools.

I would like to draw the attention of the teachers and organizers of spinning in schools that it is in every way better to introduce *taklis* instead of the spinning-wheels. For co-operative spinning in schools *takli* will be found to be more efficacious, more economical and more productive in the end.

Young India, 6-5-1926

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

[2] & [3] Not reproduced here

490. FROM FAR-OFF AMERICA

Some time ago I answered some questions[1] put by a correspondent in America. He now returns to the charge and puts several further questions, the first being:

> What good is that brave and fearless mentality when it cannot save the things you love? You may not be afraid to die, but what is it that will keep a band of robbers from taking away from you what you cherish if you are going to remain non-violent to the end. If the victims of a robber do not offer violent resistance it is so much easier for the robber to loot them. Robbery has been going on and it will go on in the world till the victims are easy. The strong will rob the weak, resistance or no resistance. To be weak is a sin. Not to prepare by all means to get rid of this weakness is a crime.

The writer forgets that retaliation does not always succeed. The robber is likely, if stronger, to defeat the protector and vent his wrath, kindled by the resistance received, on the unfortunate victim whose plight would therefore be the worse for the resistance offered on her behalf. It is true that the protector will have the satisfaction of having done his best for his charge. But the same satisfaction will be available to the non-violent protector. For, he too will die in the attempt to rescue the victim. What is more, he will have the additional satisfaction of having tried to soften the heart of the robber by his pleading. The writer's difficulty arises from the fact of his having assumed that the non-violent protector is to be a mere passive helpless spectator of the robbery. As a matter of fact, however, in my scheme, love is presumed to be a more active and potent force than brute force. He who has not the love and remains passive is a coward. He is neither man nor brute. He has proved himself unfit to protect.

The writer obviously cannot realize, as I have done, the tremendous power that non-violent resistance has over one's adversary. Non-violent resistance is the resistance of one will against another. That resistance is possible only when it is freed from reliance on brute force. Reliance on brute force as a rule presupposes surrender when that force is exhausted. Does the writer know that a woman with a determined will can successfully resist her ravisher however powerful he may be?

[1] *Vide* "A Student's Questions", 25-2-1926.

I admit that the strong will rob the weak and that it is sin to be weak. But this is said of the soul in man, not of the body. If it be said of the body, we could never be free from the sin of weakness. But the strength of soul can defy a whole world in arms against it. This strength is open to the weakest in body. A weak-willed Zulu, though strong as a giant in body, surrenders to a little white child. Who has not seen strong-bodied bullies surrendering helplessly to their frail mothers? Love conquers the brute in the son. The law that subsists between mother and son is universal in its application. Nor need love be reciprocal. It is its own reward. Many a mother has tamed by her love her erring defiant children. Let us all prepare to get rid of the weakness of love. There is chance of success there. For rivalry in loving is conducive to health. The world has been trying all these ages to become strong in the wielding of brute force and it has miserably failed. Rivalry in generating brute force is race suicide.

The writer adds:

> The British rulers seem to have as much soul-force as you have, but they have military force and practical knowledge of human nature besides. The result is obvious.

Military force is inconsistent with soul-force. Frightfulness, exploitation of the weak, immoral gains, insatiable pursuit after enjoyments of the flesh are utterly inconsistent with soul-force. The soul-force that the British rulers have is therefore subservient to the brute force if it is not asleep altogether.

The writer then puts the eternal conundrum:

> There are certain greedy persons in the world and they are doing mischief. They have power in their hands. They may be mad, but they are doing harm nevertheless. It will not do for us to stand by with folded hands and let them go on with their devilish work. We must take the power away from them even at the cost of non-violence, so that they may not do any more harm.

History teaches one that those who have, no doubt with honest motives, ousted the greedy by using brute force against them have in their turn become a prey to the disease of the conquered. If it be better to be slaves than slave-drivers, if this is no mere copy-book maxim, we can easily afford to let the slave-drivers do their worst, whilst, being weary of the brutal tug of war, so unbefitting our human nature, we try to explore the possibilities of matching the brute force of the greedy exploiters and the like with soul-force.

But the writer is met with this difficulty at the threshold of the experiment:

> Mahatmaji, you admit that the people of India have not followed your creed. You do not seem to realize the cause of it. The truth is that the average person is not a Mahatma. History proves this fact beyond doubt. There have been a few Mahatmas in India and elsewhere. These are exceptions. And the exceptions only prove the rule. You must not base your actions on the exceptions.

It is curious how we delude ourselves. We fancy that one can make the perishable body impregnable and we think it impossible to evoke the hidden powers of the soul. Well, I am engaged in trying to show, if I have any of these powers, that I am as frail a mortal as any of us and that I never had anything extraordinary about me nor have any now. I claim to be a simple individual liable to err like any other fellow mortal. I own, however, that I have humility enough in me to confess my errors and to retrace my steps. I own that I have an immovable faith in God and His goodness and unconsumable passion for truth and love. But is that not what every person has latent in him? If we are to make progress, we must not repeat history but make new history. We must add to the inheritance left by our ancestors. If we may make new discoveries and inventions in the phenomenal world, must we declare our bankruptcy in the spiritual domain? Is it impossible to multiply the exceptions so as to make them the rule? Must man always be brute first and man after, if at all?

Young India, 6-5-1926

491. LETTER TO RADHAKRISHNA BAJAJ

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Thursday, May 6, 1926

CHI. RADHAKRISHNA,

I read your letter to me and the one to Shankarrao. I am sure your rule about eating salt-free food is not for all time. Its significance lies in that it reduces the keenness of the palate. This is the main point to bear in mind, and, therefore, as a guest at someone's place you may accept whatever simple food is offered. You may leave aside any item on the menu, with or without salt, which is not acceptable to you. But the three items—milk, boiled rice and chapatties—can be had anywhere. You may leave aside curry or vegetables which contain chillies and spices. Where hand-

ground flour is not available, you may use mill-ground flour without any hesitation. When the road surface is very hot and in a place strewn with thorns, you should certainly use shoes, which in fact are called *kantarakhan*[1] or *pagarakhan*[2]. You should not hesitate to write to me whenever you are faced with such conflicts of duties. Take very good care of your health.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19532

492. LETTER TO CHHOTALAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Thursday, May 6, 1926

CHI. CHHOTALAL,

I got your letter written from Jaipur. I had an earlier letter too. I intended to write to you after you had reached Calcutta, but your letter from Jaipur impels me to write today. I do not at all like your manner of counting the cost of the thing. We must be very careful but we should not overdo it. If you go to some place for a cure of your mental or physical illness, you can certainly charge the expense to the Ashram's account. Why do you at all keep any money as yours? Which is better, that you should surrender your all or that you should retain a little of "I" and "mine"? And just as the Ashram should bear the expenses when you go out elsewhere, similarly it should pay for the lessons you take in shorthand. Satis Babu will certainly pay you for any work you do, but it is better that you should work without expecting payment and also learn shorthand without paying. Rather than raise such fine issues, it is more necessary that you learn to determine with the utmost care what your duty is and then have no doubts and hesitations about it in your mind. Anyone who goes too deep into things, as you do, gets lost in mazes and is unable to see his plain duty which stands before him as unmistakable as a hill. Write to me regularly. You left for Prayag, and Bhuvarji came here.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19533

[1] Protection against thorns
[2] Protection for feet

493. LETTER TO MADANMOHAN SHARMA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, May 7, 1926

DEAR SIR,

Your letter. The Tilak Fund came to about a crore of rupees. Its accounts appeared in all the papers. Its report has also been published in book form and is available at the Congress office. A major portion of the sum has already been spent, chiefly on national schools, removal of untouchability and khadi work.
(2) In my opinion, a leader should not travel first or second class if his health can stand the strain of third class travel.
(3) I certainly believe that Hindu-Muslim unity is possible, for unity is in human nature. Even if neither Hindus nor Muslims make efforts to bring it about, time does its work.
(4) Those whose economic condition is not good may adopt still greater simplicity in their lives and consume less khadi; in this manner a non-co-operator should, in the present circumstances, put up with hardships but be faithful to his chosen dharma.

From a photostat of the Hindi: S.N. 10899

494. LETTER TO FULCHAND

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, May 7, 1926

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

I got your postcard. I don't think it was a virtue in Bhai Shivlal that he should be suffering from piles and yet not give so much as a hint to anyone. I would rather blame him for not doing so. He cannot now carry on his work of service. No one can say how long he will be in bed; besides, the illness will mean expenditure which could have been avoided. But who can make Shivlal see reason? You should now immediately take whatever measures are necessary to get him cured.

I follow what you say regarding the Wadhwan Udyogalaya[1]. Your letter seems to suggest that I have been unfair in forming

[1] Industrial Centre

my opinion about Wadhwan and that I am partial to the Amreli Centre in supporting it, and that too is a form of injustice. How can I convince you that I am neither partial towards the one nor hostile to the other? I am partial only to khadi. After inspecting the Amreli Centre personally and also through others' eyes I came to the conclusion that it did not deserve to be closed. I had not examined the Wadhwan centre, nor did I think it necessary to look into its working, as I had confidence in your ability and used to get regular reports about it from Devchandbhai. I thought about the Centre only when the problem of selling khadi arose. And when you showed me the accounts in the course of my inquiry, I was startled. If it is a fact that in Wadhwan you offer higher rates for spinning, weaving and carding, is it [worthwhile] to continue to run the Centre?

I apply one criterion to khadi activity at all places. Are the women who will be spinning starving for want of employment? If so, and if, to our good fortune, they agree to spin, we may start khadi work in that place. Provided workers were available in sufficient number, I would try to maintain all those centres in Kathiawar which satisfied this principle. Write to me if you have anything to say after this explanation, and try to convince me. I yearn for testimonials from my co-workers certifying to my impartiality. I regard you as one such co-worker. I, too, will not give up the effort to convince you.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19534

495. LETTER TO RAM DATTA CHOPRA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 8, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I do not think that the vaccine is obtained by killing cows. But I believe that it requires torturing them.

The rules of the Ashram[1] are appended to Mr. Natesan's publication. All the copies have been distributed. A new edition is contemplated but it would be some time before it is published.

I am afraid I would not be able to take charge of your daughter as I have no arrangements for receiving girls who are not

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 91-8.

accompanied by their parents. And your son is in any event too young to be admitted.

With reference to the construction of cobbler's huts I would ask you to approach the President of the Provincial Congress Committee.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19540

496. LETTER TO MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 8, 1926

DEAR MAULANA SAHEB,

I have your telegram. It was received after the All-India Congress Committee session was over. But do you think that any purpose can be served by calling a special session of the Congress? It can be of use only when there is a policy or programme that requires confirmation by it. But unfortunately we have neither policy nor programme. On the contrary, the tallest among us distrust one another and even where there is no distrust there is no agreement as to facts or opinion.

In the circumstances a Congress session can only accentuate the existing depression. It seems to me that time alone can solve the difficulty which seems to baffle us.

I wish that it was possible for us at least to devise means of ascertaining the causes and of defining the results of each riot. But it seems that we have become incapacitated even for this very simple work.

Yours sincerely,

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 19541

497. LETTER TO KUSUM AND DHIRU

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 8, 1926

CHI. KUSUM AND DHIRU,

I have your letter. I do not want to apportion blame for what has happened. I only wish that you should now take full advantage of the free time you will get there, and in this manner you should make your influence felt in the neighbourhood by being more regular in your daily work of spinning, etc., and strengthen your resolves. Keep writing to me. I see your handwriting still needs much improvement. Dhiru's especially is extremely poor. I shall forget my grief over Dhiru's going away to Bombay if he religiously follows there all his vows. Tell Bhanumati that, if she starts spinning regularly and forms the habit of getting up at four, I will think that letting both of you go to Bombay has been of great value. Devdas is there; he is to be operated upon, and is along with Ba and Mahadev. You must have heard about all this.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19535

498. LETTER TO JAYA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, May 8, 1926

CHI. JAYA,

One benefit has certainly followed from Kusum and Dhiru going there; I have had a letter from you. I did not know that your handwriting was so laboured; it can certainly be improved. Please see that the children keep all the rules. I shall then forget my grief over their going from here. Please let me know how Dr. Prabhudas is keeping. You will know the rest from the letter to Kusum and Dhiru.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19536

499. LETTER TO MITHUBEHN PETIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, May 8, 1926

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter; also the honey. It looks that after all I shall have to go to Mahabaleshwar. There is a letter today from Sir Chunilal Mehta. It seems to have been written at the instance of the Governor himself. He has invited me in his letter to stay with him. I think I should accept the invitation. Most probably I shall start from here as early as next Thursday. Personally, I would have liked to stay either with you or with Nargisbehn, but every time we must consider what our duty requires of us.

MITHUBEHN
FOUNTAIN HOUSE
MAHABALESHWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19537

500. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday [May 8, 1926][1]

CHI. JAMNALAL,

It seems at last that I shall have to go to Mahabaleshwar. There is a letter today from Sir Chunilal Mehta. He has written it at the instance of the Governor himself, and suggests that I should meet the Governor in Mahabaleshwar itself. He has also invited me to stay with him while there, and pressed me to accept the invitation. I intend, therefore, to start from here on Thursday. Devdas's operation will have been over by then. I expect a telegram today. Now we shall not have to arrange for a bungalow for our stay in Mahabaleshwar. Think over and decide what arrangements we should make for a car and whether you will accompany me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2862

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

501. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, Chaitra Vad 11, May 8, 1926

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

One of your questions remains to be answered. You wanted to know whether you could spend anything for helping the poor women who spin. You can spend about Rs. 100 for the purpose. Please let me know how you intend to utilize the amount. Within this limit, write to the Ashram for the amount which you spend.

I send with this the results of the tests carried out by Shri Lakshmidas as to the quality of the yarn. You will see from them that it is very necessary to pay attention to improving it. In Shri Lakshmidas's view, the strength ought not to be below 50%. Why could they not supply moistened yarn if they keep it with them for eight days? In this weather, moistened yarn dries up within two or three hours.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19538

502. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, May 8, 1926

BHAI KAKA,

I have to further postpone the writing of the book for you, because, if I do not write a letter to you under the excuse that I am to write a book for you, I am afraid I may write neither. I had thought that I would write out the book soon so that I need not write the letter. But the Congress Committee took up practically my three full days, with the result that the Girnar of work has now become the Himalayas. On top of this, I see from today's mail that I shall have to go to Mahabaleshwar. Nothing is likely to come out of the visit, but courtesy requires that I should go; let the outcome be what it will.

I have never felt that the inmates of the Ashram are indifferent to Dr. Talwalkar, but it may be that my indifference, if it can be called so, has been reflected in their attitude.

If you have been using olive oil as a substitute for cod-liver

oil, [by all means] go on with it. Some regard it as superior to cod-liver oil. Shri Bhansali had used this same thing in jail.

My habit of drawing lots has absolutely no relation with your "examination as of a bride's qualities". The poor little piece of paper cannot bear all that burden. There is no attempt in it to win over the gods; on the contrary, there is a sort of indifference about lots. In cases in which we need not tax our reason, in which we are indifferent to either of the alternative courses and yet must adopt one of them, and none of our good friends is prepared to take a decision for us, I think it is an excellent practice to seek the good offices of our friend, the lot. This saves time and also spares us the burden on our mind. In matters of principle, drawing lots is an immoral solution.

You cannot draw lots whether or not you should steal. But is it not better to draw lots rather than go on debating whether or not to go out for a walk with A, citing reasons from Vedas and other holy books for and against? If we try to consult the inner voice in such matters, the latter would lose all its value; a child like Rasik might excuse himself from doing any work by pleading his inner voice! Have we not known instances of such abuse of the plea of inner voice during the non-co-operation movement? Suppose *tandaljo* and *methi* are both permissible items of diet, both are easily available but only one of them is to be purchased, and suppose further that we cannot make up our mind immediately, would it not, in such circumstances, be better to draw lots and be indifferent to the result, rather than make it a matter of conscience?

I shall see about Shri Harihar when he comes here. Shri Narahari had thought of getting Harihar to open a nursery school in Surat. If the people of Surat are ready to have such a school and collect a big amount they are certainly welcome to start it, but we cannot try the experiment on behalf of the Vidyapith. I remember having been told by Shri . . .[1] as early as when I was in jail that Shri . . .[2] had gone romantic. He had shown me an indecent poem signed . . .[3], when I asked who this . . .[4] was, I think he said it was . . .[5] of the Ashram. But maybe, I am mistaken. It may not have been . . .[6] but someone else who told me this. We shall have to think about the matter when . . .[7] is here.

Nothing has yet been decided about [my visit to] Europe. Yes, Swami too had expressed to me his disagreement. The Ame-

[1] to [7] Names omitted

rican tour would have only meant addressing thousands of people; going to Finland means attending a convention of student-delegates from all over the world. There is a great difference between the two propositions. Moreover, in America I was supposed to give to the people India's message; though there was no message to give. In this case the idea is that I should establish a spiritual bond with students. There is no question of delivering a message. These are the reasons why the idea of going to Finland is tempting me, though, of course, there are some misgivings in my mind. That is why I have thrown on K. T. Paul the responsibility of arranging my visit after telling them of my conditions. He, too, instead of accepting the responsibility, has passed on my letter to Geneva. If they still keep the invitation open, can we say it is God's wish that I should go? Personally I will certainly believe so.

I am convinced that Uttamchand will have nowhere else the facilities which he enjoys here. And now we have started a course of injections by Dr. Talwalkar. He is keeping well enough.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19539

503. *SERVICE OF THE CITY*

To everyone who wishes to serve his city I would recommend a perusal of Dr. Hariprasad's account[1] of the seven-month-long efforts to keep the city of Ahmedabad clean and bright. Those who do not know how to serve their own city can never serve their country. The good work done in these seven months by people who believed that selfless service is its own reward could not have been done by the municipality of the city even at a cost of thousands of rupees. This effort to keep the city clean is an example of co-operation between a municipality and the citizens, and if the rich do not co-operate, what has been already achieved is likely to be wasted. It is possible to raise the necessary funds to make Ahmedabad a model of cleanliness. Most of the suggestions made by Dr. Hariprasad cannot be carried out without the help of the wealthy citizens. The money given for this work will bring a handsome return, for if the city has a sufficient number of open grounds with trees in them, if the old ruins and dirty sights are removed and stinking lavatories are seen no more, the health of the citizens will improve considerably and the price of the land

[1] An article, 'Cleaning the City', by Hariprasad Vrajraj Desai in *Navajivan*, 9-5-1926

will also appreciate. The citizens can insist that the expenditure should be incurred under their own supervision. Hence the money given for this work will not be a gift but will be an instance of economic foresight.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 9-5-1926

504. NOTES

REFORMS AMONG "PATANWADIAS"[1]

The reforms introduced among *Patanwadias* show how much work can be done if we cultivate close contacts with the countless people in the country who are looked upon as poor and backward, and they also make clear to us what kind of preparation is necessary to enable us to do such solid service. We can see from the work done by Bhai Ravishankar that for this purpose a love for the people, a well trained body and fearlessness are far more necessary than knowledge of letters, proficiency in English or a university degree.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 9-5-1926

505. LETTER TO A. A. PAUL[2]

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 9, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is a most difficult thing for me to make fixed appointments one year in advance. I can only therefore say that I would be prepared tentatively to accept the invitation. It may be necessary to shorten the programme and it may be also that I may be so absorbed in Indian affairs at the time that I might not be able to move out of India. I wonder if with the uncertainty attaching to my acceptance the associations concerned will care to send me the invitation.

[1] This note is a comment on a report by Mohanlal Pandya of work among *Patanwadias*, a backward community in Gujarat.

[2] In reply to his letter dated 4-5-1926 wherein he wrote: " . . . I have got a reply from Mr. T. Z. Koo of China describing the purpose, programme, dates and scope of the visit that they are anxious to have from you . . . ."

Please also tell the friends that if I go out at all, I shall be accompanied by two companions.

Your colleague Mr. Maccune will be welcome at the Ashram in the beginning of June.

Yours sincerely,

A. A. PAUL, ESQ.[1]
7, MILLER ROAD
KILPAUK, MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 11370

506. LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 9, 1926

DEAR MOTIBABU,

I hope you received my letter with reference to the loan. Please make the following corrections in the agreement[2] to be signed by you:

The interest should not be one per cent per annum but one per thousand per annum.

The interest is intended to be purely nominal. And, where the following sentence occurs—"the selling price of khadi . . . up to weaving plus 6¼% for the expenses of management"—please say "the sale price of khaddar shall not be above the rates fixed by the Association from time to time".

This improvement is intended to make the position of the khadi organizations more elastic than it[3] otherwise would be. These are the conditions embodied in the loan agreements. When I prepared the draft for you Mr. Banker was away and I had not the Association model before me. On his return he drew my attention to these discrepancies. Kindly excuse me.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19542

[1] General Secretary, Students' Christian Association of India, Burma and Ceylon (S.N. 11369)

[2] *Vide* "Draft Agreement for Loans from All-India Spinners' Association", 1-5-1926.

[3] The source has "they".

507. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday [May 9, 1926][1]

BHAI RAMESHWARJI,

I have your letter. When I advise you to live in "solitude" I mean that you should live away from your wife. It would do you good to go to Nasik and retire to a secluded spot. After winter sets in, you can stay even in the Ashram.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 163-A

508. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday [May 9, 1926][2]

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. This time your handwriting can be described as good. When you are here, I will certainly put you up, if not in your old room, in the room adjoining Mirabai's. I shall have to go to Mahabaleshwar for two or three days. Devdas is suffering from appendicitis, and so I have sent him to Bombay for an operation. It must have been over today. Ba and Mahadev have gone with him. The report in the Press which you read, that I was to leave for Mahabaleshwar on the 6th, was not correct. Ramdas must be in Mahuva just now.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. VASUMATIBEHN DHIMATRAI NAVALRAM
KELAPEETH

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 470. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

[1] From the postmark
[2] From the reference to Devdas's illness and Gandhiji's trip to Mussoorie

509. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, May 9, 1926

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have your letter. I expect a telegram from you this evening. I am not at all worried. Tell Ba that Rami's daughter is quite all right. I had got Ba's message. Manibehn and the younger Kashi do the cooking. Kūmibehn, Rami's aunt, arrived here today. Kanti and Manu had been to the station to receive her. Ba should not worry on our account.

Rameshwarprasad, his mother and others arrived yesterday, and are leaving for that side today. You must have got my letter in which I told you about my going to Mahabaleshwar. I take it that Mahadev will remain there for the time being. He should write to me if he wants me to fetch anything for him from here. I think we shall have to take with us some extra covering for nights. It seems that we shall have to stay in Mahabaleshwar for three days, viz., Saturday, Sunday and Monday. I have also been thinking that, leaving there on Tuesday morning, we should look up Kaka in Sinhgarh and, if possible, make a trip to Deolali as well. This may take up two more days. If we start on Tuesday morning we can reach Sinhgarh at about 10 or 11, and I am thinking that we may then go to Deolali if we can come down the same evening. But I may even drop the visit to Deolali if Mahadev thinks that it is not very necessary to go, because I also feel there is no point in going to Deolali unless we can stay there for a couple of days. Just now I shall write nothing about this to Mathuradas. I have decided to be guided by Mahadev's advice. Will you yourself arrange for a car from Poona? A train for Poona leaves [Bombay] at 10-30 a.m. If that is so, I think it will be best to catch that train, after seeing Devdas, and reach Mahabaleshwar the same night. I think it would be better to arrange for two cars from Poona.

I had just now a trunk-call from Vallabhbhai about the operation. God be praised for His mercy!

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2683

510. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, May 9, 1926

CHI. DEVDAS,

I got today all your letters, all the three. I do not understand how this has happened. By the time you get this letter it will be more than twenty-four hours since the operation, and you will be chatting happily with friends. I do not now feel worried at any time. I have never felt frightened by an operation, though I once witnessed an operation which resulted in the patient's death. But I could see that it was all due to the doctor's absolute incompetence. This happened in Johannesburg. Kumi has come here today. She was certain that Ba would be here. Panditji has arrived today, and so the Ashram is again becoming full. I am not giving other news in this letter to you; I am writing about it to Jamnalalji. I advise you to employ this enforced leisure for looking within. I shall see him most probably on Friday.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19543

511. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

Monday, May 10, 1926

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have your letter and Mahadev's. I am not at all worried, nor was I before. There is always some risk in chloroform, but then such risk is present in every operation. Tell Devdas not to be nervous if the pain continues; some patients feel it, but only for a couple of days. By the time you get this letter, the pain must have disappeared completely.

I got the translation sent by Mahadev. With this and with the translation from Valji, I have by now (half past two) matter for seventeen columns ready. So I have sat down to write this letter. I do not think you need postpone your Indore visit. Nothing will be accomplished at Mahabaleshwar, whereas there is much to do at Indore. I have not decided whom I should ask here to accompany me. There will be one person, and most probably it will be Subbiah.

I shall arrive there in the first train. Take me to Revashankar-bhai's. If Devdas is better, I shall go to see him after I have had my bath and lunch; otherwise I will go directly from the station. We must leave for Poona the same day. That will be no trouble to me. I intend to reach Mahabaleshwar the same evening, i.e., at nine on Friday. Please inform Revashankarbhai.

It is all right that you know Mehta, but it would have been better if you had not written to him for a car. It will not look well if he makes any arrangements on behalf of the Government. But please do not alter the arrangements.

You will see that, if we reach Mahabaleshwar on Friday, we shall have only two days to meet the Governor. We must leave the place on Tuesday morning.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2864

512. LETTER TO K. SANTANAM

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 11, 1926

MY DEAR SANTANAM,

Rajagopalachari discussed with me your difficulties when he was at the Ashram. I sympathize with you. But it is difficult to conform to an absolute rule of conduct. Whilst it is proper to exact the uttermost from oneself, to refuse to serve till one had attained the ideal height would be to cut off the possibility of reaching that height. We rise only by actual service and by taking the risk of making mistakes whilst we are serving. Not one of us is perfect. Not one of us is able to realize the whole of our spiritual ambition. All the same, in the humblest manner possible we have to continue to serve and hope that through that service we may some day realize that ambition. If we all refuse to serve, until we attain perfection, there will be no service. The fact is that perfection is attained through service. If you were to say we must not take or accept power till we are perfect, I should entirely agree with you. And, therefore, it is best never to take any power, and, when it is thrust upon us to use it for service only. I hope therefore that, in spite of the weaknesses that you may detect in yourself, you will not refuse to render khadi service so long as the weaknesses do not interfere with that service. Thus a man who has

the weakness of dishonesty or drunkenness or the like is naturally unfit for that service. But a man who in spite of strenuous effort is unable (say) to regulate himself with his wife as if he was her brother is not unfit for service. I hope I have made myself quite clear and that you will return to the khadi work you love and do so well.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. SANTANAM
KUMMUTTI THIDAL
TANJORE DT.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19545

513. LETTER TO SARADINDU B. BANERJI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is not clear to me what you really desire. Do you want to stay with me for a little time? And, if so, what do you want to do? Mine as you know is an extremely busy life. I have hardly time to talk to people. And I rarely do so except for purposes of my own. If, therefore, one comes to me he is immediately put upon some useful work and he commences with the cleansing of water-closets, etc., and spinning as a matter of course.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SARADINDU B. BANERJI
13, EDMONSTONE ROAD
ALLAHABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 19546

514. LETTER TO C. V. KRISHNA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 11, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNA,

I have your letter. Even for the Rustomjee Bhavan, let the recommendation come through the agency of A.I.S.A.

Your diet scale is good if you get sufficient butter-milk during the month. Who gives it to you free? Is it customary in Andhra Desh for butter-milk to be given freely? Do you have to beg for it? Or is it sent to you? Please describe to me more fully the fruits you get for one rupee per month. Your scale should be scientifically drawn. And a scientific scale gives both the weight and price of all the foodstuffs taken. You cannot be always taking one rupee and four annas worth of rice even when the price of rice has doubled, as it sometimes is. Of the staples you have to take the same quantity irrespective of price. Therefore, I would like you to give me the exact quantity taken including those things which come to you free of charge and you should put down the prices of such things also as you get free.

I want to publish the scale of diet taken in the various institutions so as to guide workers. And let there be no et ceteras. You have "salt, etc.". Instead of that you should say salt, turmeric, ginger or whatever spices, if any, you are taking.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19547

515. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 11, 1926

I have your two letters. I enclose herewith Kelappan's letter. What you have done is quite right. He must render an account of his work to you from time to time.

I am writing to Santanam. Herewith a copy of my letter[1] to him. About Ramanathan, I shall discuss with Shankerlal. I do not apprehend any difficulty.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to K. Santanam", 11-5-1926.

Can't very well draw lots about Finland. And, even if I do, it is too late now. But I share your misgivings. I have prescribed my terms and if they have me in spite of them there may be something in the visit.

You will be ready in June, won't you, for touring even if you have to have somebody from here temporarily. How would Chhotalal suit you? He cannot be there for a long time. But it would be possible to induce him to come there willingly for two or three months if he can be of any assistance and give you some relief.

I have now seen Shankerlal. He thinks that if Ramanathan's salary is raised to Rs. 150 there is bound to be pressure from others for raising their salary. It is a risky thing for a public and universal body like the Charkha Sangh to depart from fixed rules. At the same time, I see your or rather Ramanathan's difficulty. My suggestion, therefore, is that so long as it is absolutely necessary, you should pay Ramanathan from the Seva Sangh. For this, perhaps, Jamnalalji will have to be consulted which you should do or if you want me to I will. If the thing can be postponed you should come here at the time of commencing your tour and discuss with Shankerlal. I take it that Ramanathan will not insist upon the increase coming from the A.I.S.A.

Yours,

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
GANDHI ASHRAM
TIRUCHENGODU

From a photostat: S.N. 19548

516. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, May 11, 1926

BHAISHRI KAKA,

I got your second letter about mother goat. If, now, I myself come to Sinhgarh, instead of sending you a book there, I will make nothing but speeches. We need not now leave this place on Thursday and reach Mahabaleshwar on Friday, because the next week suits the Governor better. When I shall be able to leave, I can say only after some time. Even apart from the visit to Mahabaleshwar, Devdas has been operated upon and I must see him. Since Bombay is on the way, I may even start earlier for his sake. That will depend upon Devdas's wishes.

I agree with every word of what you say about books worth translating. My inquiry was only in connection with Jamnadas Memorial Series. Neither Shankerlal nor Swami has the list which you prepared. Of course we should get the translation done only by competent men. The books too should be such as would meet some immediate needs of the people and should be easy to follow. In your letter you have explored a whole ocean of books. But all we have to consider at present is what books we should select for this series. Please, therefore, think about that.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19531

517. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

ASHRAM,
Wednesday [May 12, 1926][1]

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have your letter. I also got a telegram from Jamnalalji. A telegram from Sir Chunilal has just been received. The Governor will see us on Tuesday. I am, therefore, sending a wire that I shall start tomorrow. I will take the first train. We shall fix up the rest of the programme after I reach there. I would prefer that we leave for Deolali on Friday itself in the evening and return to Bombay on Sunday morning. We may then spend Sunday and Monday in Bombay and finish the work for *Young India* and *Navajivan* till the usual period of my vow of silence on Monday is over. I should break my silence on Monday evening and leave for Poona, from where I can immediately take the train to Mahabaleshwar. We can have our wash and lunch in Mahabaleshwar itself. This will impose the least strain on us. But you should, all of you, consult among yourselves about any changes which may seem necessary in this programme; we will alter it accordingly after I arrive there. We should stay in Mahabaleshwar on Tuesday and Wednesday and leave there on Thursday morning. On our way we should cover Sinhgarh; we should start descending immediately after sunset and take the train from Poona so as to reach Bombay the following morning, and Ahmedabad on Saturday morning. As far as I can see, we cannot save a single day from this programme. We must reserve two days for Mahabaleshwar. We can, if we wish, spend Monday in Mahabaleshwar. But it seems best that we should spend Sunday and

[1] From the reference to Gandhiji's visit to Mahabaleshwar and to Devdas

Monday with Devdas. Or, we can spare one day more for Mathuradas. In any case, we should spend Monday in Bombay.

I think I have nothing to add. Oh yes, I forgot one thing. I have yielded to Kumi's repeated requests and Kanti, Rasik and Minu are leaving for Rajkot tomorrow. My condition is that they too should be sent back on Friday. On asking the children, I could see that they wished to go and so I thought it best to let them go.

Ramniklal has started a ten-day fast from today, the reason merely being his own several years old, strong wish to do so. So now Bhansali has a companion during the last days of his fast. The latter is going on very well with his fast. Today is the twelfth day, but he does not show in any way that he has been fasting. There is no observable effect even on his face. He sleeps quite soundly. He takes enemas, and that ensures bowel movement. Drinks plenty of water. He himself reads for an hour every day, and also gets others to read a little from religious books.

Since Devdas is all right, . . .[1] can now come away. Rami, being alone, is likely to feel a little, though of course Mani, Radha and others look after her with great care. I propose to bring Subbiah along with me.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19494

518. LETTER TO THE SECRETARY, A.I.S.A.

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 12, 1926

THE SECRETARY
A.I.S.A.
AHMEDABAD

DEAR SIR,

Ref. Your No. 2743 of the 8th instant

With reference to the application of the Abhoy Ashram authorities for permission to borrow on personal security up to Rs. 20,000/- I am of opinion that this permission should be granted provided that the money is to be used for advancing the objects of the Ashram.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 11177

[1] As in the source

519. *LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 12, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I want an accurate reading of the Calcutta riots from your pen. I wonder if Chhotalal gave you my letter and how he is doing? Any way, I am delighted that you have changed your food and are taking more nourishing things. Do please continue. It will be criminal if you weaken your body or become ill. A few rupees spent in getting proper nourishment will be well spent. I know that you are not the man to eat for pleasure, but when things are required to sustain life they must be procured.

Hemaprabha Devi wrote to me a laconic letter from which I could understand nothing. Tell her it will not do. She must tell me fully about all her mental struggles, hopes and fears, likes and dislikes.

Yours,
BAPU

From a microfilm: S.N. 19550

520. *LETTER TO LUCIEN JACQUIN*[1]

May 12 [1926]

I would suggest to you to make a careful study of my writings before you take any step whatsoever.

From a photostat: S.N. 12416

521. *LETTER TO J. LYLE TELFORD*[2]

May 12 [1926]

If you will kindly send me your magazine I shall see whether I can send you anything to fit in with it.

From a photostat: S.N. 12432

[1] This is a handwritten draft on a letter dated 6-4-1926 from the addressee in French. (S.N. 12416)

[2] In reply to the addressee's letter dated 25-2-1926 requesting for an article for *The International Forum*, a monthly magazine for the promotion of social progress

522. LETTER TO E. H. JAMES

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is difficult for me at the present moment to find time to read literature with which friends overwhelm me.

You ask me to differentiate between *Advaitism* and *Dvaitism*. The former derived evidence from God who alone exists and therefore, contemplates identity between God and His creation. The latter attempts to show that the two can be never one.

Yours sincerely,

E. H. JAMES, ESQ.
CONCORD MASS, U.S.A.

From a photostat: S.N. 12434

523. LETTER TO KRISHNADAS

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 12, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNADAS,

I had your telegram. Till it was received, we did not know that it was on father's account that Hardayal Babu had started fasting. He had written to me and asked me for blessing. I had not the heart to refuse it. But after receipt of your telegram, I was watchful. I have now received a telegram saying that the fast is broken, some people of Chandpur having guaranteed the expenses of the school building.

I have been waiting for your letter which has not yet arrived. How is Guruji getting on and how are you faring? Did I tell you that Pyarelal was with Mathuradas? Devdas is suffering from jaundice. Having been brought back, he underwent an operation on Sunday for appendicitis. Ba and Mahadev are there in Bombay. Devdas is doing quite all right. I am likely to see him on my way to Mahabaleshwar where I am going to meet the Governor to discuss agricultural matters at his instance.

Yours,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19549

524. LETTER TO SEWA RAM

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Fearlessness comes out of a living faith in the existence of the soul apart from the body and its persistence after the dissolution of the body. And this is attained by a continuous realization of the futility of all worldly ambition.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SEWA RAM
22, JAIL ROAD
LAHORE

From a photostat: S.N. 19551

525. LETTER TO CHHOTELAL

ASHRAM,
Wednesday, May 12, 1926

CHI. CHHOTELAL,

I have your letter. Remember your promise to me, that during your retirement into the country you will build up very good health, and you cannot do that unless you cheer up. You must unhesitatingly and in good quantity take milk, curds or any other articles which agree with you. For the present, you should pay attention to building up fine health, and may at the same time do what work you can. I know that you would have felt happier if Vinoba could have been with you at this time. But now you should carry on Vinoba's work "as well as you can". How much happier I would be if I did not have to qualify the statement with "as well as you can"! It is up to you to make that possible. I am writing to Rajaji. He will certainly have you. He is certain to come here by the 15th of June. It is not so very far off from now, and so I believe he will decide only after he arrives here. Just the same I shall see what he says. You should always let me have a complete picture of the state of your mind.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19553

526. A DIEHARD

Prejudices die hard. Though the atrocious injustice done by the Hindus to the suppressed classes is admitted generally by even the orthodox Hindu society, there are men, otherwise liberal-minded, so blinded by prejudice that they see no injustice in the treatment meted out to our suppressed countrymen. Thus a correspondent writes:[1]

> . . . I do not agree with people who say that the untouchables are oppressed and suppressed. . . . I am afraid that your mission to elevate them, to place them on an equal footing with other communities of the country, is doomed to failure. Personally, though I feel that much should be done to elevate them socially, it cannot be done as if by magic in a single day. Millions of money will have to be spent to educate them, to free them from economic distress, to persuade them to abandon the vices of drinking and killing cows and eating dead animals. . . .

Degradation lies in not touching the "untouchable". What though a man drinks, kills cows and eats carrion? He is no doubt an evil-doer, though no greater than the one who commits secret and more deadly sins. But he is not to be treated as an untouchable even as society does not treat the secret sinner as one. Sinners are not to be despised, but pitied and helped to rid themselves of their sinfulness. The existence of untouchability among Hindus is a denial of the doctrine of ahimsa on which we pride ourselves. We are responsible for the evils among the "untouchables", of which the writer complains. What have we done to wean them from their ways? Do we not spend a fortune to reform members of our own families? Are the untouchables not members of the great Hindu family? Indeed, Hinduism teaches us to regard the whole of humanity as one indivisible and undivided family and holds each one of us responsible for the misdeeds of all. But if it is not possible to act up to the grand doctrine for its vastness, let us at least understand the unity of the "untouchables" with us since we regard them as Hindus.

And what is worse, eating carrion or thinking carrion? We daily create, harbour and nourish millions of untouchable thoughts. Let us shed them, for they are the true untouchables deserving to be hated and cast out. And let us do penance for our past in-

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

justice towards the "untouchable" brothers by lovingly embracing them. The correspondent does not question the duty of serving the untouchables. How are we to serve them if their very sight offends and pollutes us?

Young India, 13-5-1926

527. FURTHER MARCH FIGURES

Here are the figures[1] of production and sale of khadi for the month of March from some centres. I hope that all those who are not yet regularly sending their returns would begin to do so.

The Andhra figures are as usual incomplete. Bengal figures include those of the Khadi Pratishthan, Abhoy Ashram, and Arambagh Khadi Kendra.

Comparative Figures

The Abhoy Ashram authorities have sent the following comparative figures[2] of khadi production and sales under its aegis:

Thus it will be seen that in 1925-26, the quarterly production in the Abhoy Ashram was 25 times as much as during the corresponding period in 1923-24. This is a remarkable rise. I would ask all the chief khadi organizations in India to favour me with similar comparative statistics. If they show a rise at all like the Abhoy Ashram, they will be a complete answer to those who tell us that khadi has progressively gone down instead of rising during the past five years. Progressive figures like those of the Abhoy Ashram should hearten khadi workers for greater effort. For the work before them is not to manufacture khadi worth lacs. They have to manufacture crores of rupees worth of khadi.

Young India, 13-5-1926

528. THE CATTLE PROBLEM

Some months ago the Collector of Ganjam Mr. A. Galletti sent me a sheet, being a reprint of his notes contributed to *The Statesman*, in which he gave his opinion based on his Italian experiences, (1) that the agriculture of India depended upon good cattle, (2) that the cattle of India were ill-kept and therefore worse than elsewhere, (3) that they could be improved only by India

[1] & [2] Not reproduced here

growing cattle crop instead of merely depending on common pastures. and (4) that by the system of rotation cattle crop could be grown side by side with food grains without diminishing the returns of the latter.

I had difficulty in applying the Italian conditions to the Indian inasmuch as we have such small holdings even as little as two acres and sometimes even less. To my objection which I conveyed to him, Mr. Galletti sent me the following reply[1]:

> Many thanks for yours of the 26th February, received today in my camp in my Agency hills. I will reply[2] to your objection from experience.

The appeal of the crores of India's cattle lies not to me alone, but to every Indian who can think for himself, more especially perhaps to every Hindu who prides himself on being the special protector of the cow. I hope that the readers have been perusing the carefully prepared notes by Sjt. V. G. Desai on the slaughter of India's cattle. They give a graphic description of the condition of the cattle in the cities of India. Mr. Galletti paints the condition of farm cattle and prescribes in detail the remedy for improving them. The question of improving the breed of cattle and preserving them is a question as well of first rate economics as of religion. How far Mr. Galletti's remedy is applicable to Indian conditions, I do not know. Practical farmers alone can give an authoritative opinion. But one difficulty is obvious. Millions of farmers are too ignorant to adopt new and revolutionary methods. Assuming the truth of Mr. Galletti's prescription, its application depends upon the agricultural education of the large mass of Indian humanity. But those who know anything of agriculture and who have a patch of land under cultivation should try Mr. Galletti's remedy and publish results. For such, I give below the relevant extracts[3] from the sheet sent by Mr. Galletti:

Young India, 13-5-1926

529. NOTES

KHADI DURING NATIONAL WEEK

The All-India Spinners' Association has received certain reports of khadi work during the National Week according to which in Banaras Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta who organized volunteers for the sale of khadi, in Banaras sold nearly Rs. 2,000 worth of

[1] Only an extract is reproduced here.
[2] & [3] Not reproduced here

khadi: at Allahabad, over Rs. 1,200; at Ghazipur, over Rs. 160: and at Banda nearly Rs. 1,000 worth of khadi was sold. The result was that there was hardly any local khadi left in the U.P. In the Punjab, great enthusiasm was shown. Rs. 11,000 worth of khadi was disposed of. Many leaders went about hawking khadi. In Tamilnad, the sales in all the depots amounted to Rs. 18,622-11-11.

I wish that the other khadi centres throughout India would send their reports. There is nothing startling about these figures, but they show that if only leading men and women will work in their own centres steadily, all the khadi that can be produced can be disposed of without the slightest difficulty in the province of production and that there need be no check put upon the manufacture of good khadi for want of custom. Manufacture requires skill and sustained effort. Sale requires prestige and pushfulness. Sales therefore can be best effected by volunteers of recognized status giving a portion of their time during certain months in the year.

To S. L. R.

I wish, instead of filling eight sides of a thin notepaper, you had written on one side of your notepaper so as to make your writing legible. You could have condensed your statement to a fourth of its size.

I suggest to you that remembrance of a bad deed does not mean hatred of the evil-doer. I do not forget "the atrocities" committed by many of my friends and relatives, but I am not aware of the slightest hatred against them. On the contrary, I love them in spite of their "atrocities". But it would be wrong for me to support evil-doing friends or relatives. Similarly would it be wrong for the nation to support a servant who has been guilty of atrocities such as General Dyer was. Absence of hatred does not and must not mean the screening of the guilty. You infer without any authority that my severe condemnation of the sin of Jallianwala includes condemnation of the whole of the British race. I must ask you to search the file of *Young India* and you will discover that I have done the opposite of what you attribute to me.

Young India, 13-5-1926

530. I. L. P. AND INDIA

The report of the Indian Advisory Committee of the Independent Labour Party on the condition of India is an ably written document. It is a severe condemnation of the British Administration. It has among others paragraphs on the so-called reforms, on the power of the Civil Service, on communal favouritism, on the judiciary and the so-called Indian navy.

The paragraph on education bears reproduction:[1]

Of the general poverty the report says:[2]

From the paragraphs on the agricultural conditions, I cull the following:[3]

There are interesting paragraphs in the section devoted to industrial conditions. But I must refer the reader for the rest of the interesting information to the report itself which is issued by the I.L.P. for 6d. at 14, Great George Street, London, S.W.

Young India, 13-5-1926

531. LETTER TO CHHOTALAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Thursday, May 13, 1926

CHI. CHHOTALAL,

I have your letter. You too must have received my telegram. It is best that at present you stay there and study everything carefully; in any case, now that you are there I think you should spend some time acquainting yourself with the position. . .[4] of affairs there. The ideas which have recently occurred to you will also mature while you are there. The Ashram needs everyone but is dependent on none. That should be the attitude of the inmates, too, towards the Ashram. They must feel the need to remain in the Ashram, but at the same time they ought to be fearless. The inmates must certainly want to remain in the Ashram as long as it encourages the spirit of self-confidence in them, but should leave it the moment they feel that it obstructs their spiritual development. Thus, in retaining you in the Ashram I think I am serving both you and the Ashram. So you need not at all think

[1], [2] & [3] Not reproduced here

[4] As in the source

that I want to keep you in the Ashram solely for your good, irrespective of whether your presence serves or harms the Ashram. I request you once again to stop thinking too much. I hope you got my last letter. Reflect over it and stop worrying.

You must have learnt that Devdas has been operated upon for appendicitis. The operation was performed on Sunday. I learn from his letter today that he is quite well. He will soon be discharged from the hospital. Ba, Mahadev and Jamnalalji are with him. I am leaving for Mahabaleshwar today to see the Governor there. I shall certainly see Devdas on my way.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19505

532. *LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Thursday, Vaishakh Sud 2 [*May 13, 1926*][1]

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I have written an article[2] on the Centre for the next issue of *Navajivan*; please go through it and let me know if I have omitted anything. These days I find in your letters a mixture of sadness, impatience and despair. I also see that you did not like Shri Lakshmidas's criticism. But there is no reason for you to feel sad or give way to despair. And one must not be impatient of criticism. It is not always that a critic can do well what he criticizes in others. It is your duty to accept and use as much from the criticism as you can. You should let Lakshmidas know and have a discussion with him about what you cannot. If you do this, you may learn something. The present widespread demand for khadi is the result of a sentiment. It is your duty to nurse and strengthen this sentiment. If you work from there in a spirit of self-sacrifice, you will be able to get more work done and also improve the quality of yarn and khadi. It is only by improving their quality that you can nurse and strengthen the love for khadi. You ask for some person to examine the quality of khadi produced by families which had kept back some cotton from their crop. Where can I find such a person? I explained to you, when you were here, that you should cut out a strip three to four inches wide, from every

[1] From the reference to Gandhiji's trip to Mahabaleshwar and Devdas' hospitalization

[2] *Vide* "My Notes", 16-5-1926.

piece woven and send the strips here, so that every roll can be examined. Both the rolls and the strips should be numbered, so that whenever a strip is rejected the corresponding roll can be promptly identified. This will consume some time; but I think that is inevitable. If people get a return for their money, why should they lose faith in khadi? If you cannot do this, I can only tell you that you may pay only for such khadi about the quality of which you feel sure. There should be no difficulty in doing this if the payment is to be made at one place. When payments are to be made at several places, inspection of the material should be carried out at one place; otherwise this arrangement will not work. You may do whatever you think best in the circumstances there. I am leaving for Mahabaleshwar today. I expect to return here on Saturday the 22nd. I shall receive letters in Bombay up to Monday. Perhaps you know that Devdas is in a hospital. Kusum and Dhiru, too, are in Bombay. They wanted to be with Jaya during the time [that Devdas was in hospital].

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19554

533. *STATEMENT ON COLOUR BAR BILL*

May 14, 1926

Mahatma Gandhi who arrived in Bombay on Friday morning was met on the train by an Associated Press representative who showed him a message from Cape Town that the Colour Bar Bill has been passed. Gandhiji received the news with pain [and said]:

I am sorry to learn the news that the Bill has been passed by the joint session of the two Houses of the Union Parliament. I had hoped with Mr. Andrews that better counsels would prevail and that the Bill would be rejected. Theoretically speaking, this Colour Bar Bill is worse than the Class Areas Reservation Bill over which there is to be a round table conference. One had wished that the spirit of justice that actuated the Union Government to postpone the passing of one bill would induce them not to force the passage of the other. The acrimonious debate that took place over the passage of the Colour Bar Bill makes one suspicious as to the fate of Class Areas Reservation Bill. The duty of the Governor General of South Africa, in my opinion, is quite clear. His assent to this cruel Bill should be refused especially in view of the fact that General Smuts backed, as he was, by many other South African leaders put up such a strong opposition against it. The Colour

Bar Bill, if it becomes a law of the Union, will set up the whole of the native population of South Africa against the white settlers. I regard it as an act of suicide on their part.

The Bombay Chronicle, 15-5-1926

534. *MESSAGE TO BHAVNAGAR STATE PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE*

[Before *May 15, 1926*][1]

The Conference has honoured itself in getting Mr. Amritlal Thakkar, the champion of the Bhils and the *Antyajas*, as its president. I hope that khaddar will have its proper place in such a conference, khaddar whereby thousands of untouchables earn their honest livelihood and by which innumerable hungry sisters earn an honest anna protecting their womanhood. I also hope that the curse of untouchability which has crept into Hindu society would be removed.

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-5-1926

535. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

Saturday [*May 15, 1926*][2]

I am writing this at Deolali. The programme is materially altered. I hope Krishnadas told you.

Mahabaleshwar—Sunday, Monday and Tuesday. Hope to leave M. Wednesday, reach Bombay on Thursday and Ashram on Friday. But may not reach till Saturday. Hope you are at peace with yourself. The weather at Deolali is quite good.

With love,

BAPU

[PS.]

Krishnadas will tell you where to address letters.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5184. Courtesy: Mirabehn

[1] Read at the Conference on May 15

[2] From the postmark

536. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

DEOLALI,
May 15, 1926

CHI. MIRA,

I wrote a p.c. today in time for the post. This I am writing to post at Bombay for which I am leaving presently.

Your Hindi letter is very well written. Not *hasptal*[1] *se*[2] *chhodega*[3] but *chhutega*[4]. *Chhodega* is transitive and so you drop the case ending "*se*" but keep it before *chhutega* which is intransitive.

I knew you were feeling the separation. You will get over it because it has got to be got over. The few days' separation is a preparation for the longer that death brings. In fact the separation is only superficial. Death brings us nearer. Is not the body a bar—if it is also an introduction?

Devdas was quite well and cheerful. Mathuradas too is much better. I am to try to find out a place for him at Panchgani.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

[PS.]

The chapter of *Autobiography* will be posted at the same time as this. You will correct it as you like and give to Swami. The typed copy contains my corrections. I shall try to send you the original too.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5185. Courtesy: Mirabehn

[1] Hospital
[2] From
[3] Will leave
[4] Will be discharged

537. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

DEOLALI,
May 15, 1926

CHI. MANI,

I could persuade Ba [to go]. However, she refuses to go there before Tuesday and will reach there on Wednesday. Tell Surajbehn about it. I hope your wards give you satisfaction. Learn to be a good mixer. Do try to bring Nandubehn to the Ashram. Krishnadas must have told you about the change in the programme.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro—4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 37

538. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKER PATTANI

Saturday [May 15, 1926][1]

DEAR FRIEND,

I got your letter at Deolali. I am here to see Chi. Mathuradas on my way to Mahabaleshwar. It seems to me that you are not gaining strength fast enough. I am anxious to know your weight. You can have only cow's or goat's milk, and that again after heating it with half an ounce of water. It must not be boiled for any length of time. I hope to return to the Ashram from Mahabaleshwar on Saturday. I shall reach there tomorrow.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 3199. Courtesy: Mahesh A. Pattani

[1] From the reference to Gandhiji's visit to Mahabaleshwar

539. COBWEBS OF IGNORANCE[1]

An English writer has observed that in vindicating truth there is far more labour in disentangling the knots of ignorance than in propounding the truth itself. Truth is by nature self-evident. As soon as you remove the cobwebs of ignorance that surround it, it shines clear. That is just the sort of handicap under which the simple and straight movement of the spinning-wheel is labouring today. It is expected to fulfil conditions which no one ever claimed it to fulfil, and when it fails to do so, the blame is laid at its door rather than at the critic's! A capital illustration of this is afforded by some paragraphs sent by a lover of khadi, the substance of which is:

> (1) Now that you have begun to claim the spinning-wheel as a universal provider, it has simply filled us with disgust. And, so, today, we, the intelligentsia, repudiate you and your spinning-wheel alike.
>
> (2) It may be possible to introduce hand-spinning in small villages and if you confined yourself simply to that, nobody would criticize you and you might even get some sympathy.
>
> (3) But when you try to make out that even spiritual salvation can come through the spinning-wheel you make yourself ridiculous. But you being a 'great' man, it is just possible that some simple-minded people may swallow whatever you say. The educated are not going to stand your nonsense any more; because you have now cast all moderation to the winds, and particularly since your voluntary retirement, you have not hesitated to prescribe the spinning-wheel to everybody and for every conceivable object under heaven. Does one want to observe *brahmacharya*? Let him take to the spinning-wheel. Do you want to secure the release of the innocent Bengal patriots who are in jail?—Ply the wheel. Do you want to ameliorate the economic condition of India? Why then,—the wheel again! Not only this, you have even offered the spinning-wheel to veteran soldiers fit to wield the sword and the spear. The wonder is that you do not perceive the utter madness of all this.

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 16-5-1926. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

(4) What would it matter to Britain if India ceased to purchase sixty crore rupees worth of cloth from her? Do you suppose that that would make her abdicate her political power in India? See, how woefully mistaken you are in declaring that there is no political programme more valuable than hand-spinning.

(5) You have yet to prove that the spinning-wheel can solve even the bread problem for the masses. The harm that has resulted from it, on the other hand, is quite apparent. Just think of the khadi shops that have come to grief already!

(6) You even seem to suggest that other industrial activities should be dropped for the sake of hand-spinning.

I have condensed the objections in my own words. I do not think that I have thereby done the writer any injustice. On the contrary, I have erred, if at all, in removing or toning down the bitterness of his writing. An embittered patriot has a right to employ harsh language towards a person who has come to be dubbed a 'Mahatma'. For it enables him to mollify, to some extent at least, his rising anger over the spectacle of destitution that his country presents on the one hand and its utter helplessness to remedy it on the other. My duty is not to advertise his anger but to try, if it is at all possible, to remove the confusion engendered by that anger.

To proceed now to the examination of the six points of the correspondent:

(1) A UNIVERSAL PROVIDER?—I have never tried to make anyone regard the spinning-wheel as his *kamadhenu*[1] or universal provider; I have certainly regarded it as my *kamadhenu* and in this I have done nothing more than what crores of Hindus in India are today doing, when they take up a little bit of clay, mould it into a small oval ball, mentally invest it with the Divine presence and make it their *kamadhenu* by offering up their entire being to it. They do not ask their neighbours to worship it; on the contrary after their worship is over, they consign that sacred ball of clay to the waters. Why should then the intelligentsia feel disgusted if, with crores of my fellows, I lose my head and make the spinning-wheel my *kamadhenu*? May I not expect a measure of toleration from them? But as a matter of fact the intelligentsia as a body have not given me the go-by yet. To believe or give others to believe, therefore, that all the intelligentsia are disgusted because a few are, is hardly proper. But supposing, for the time being,

[1] A mythical cow that gave whatever one asked for

that all of them do actually abandon me altogether, then, if my faith is inviolate, as all true faith must be, it will simply blaze forth and burn all the brighter for that reason. When in 1908[1], on board the *Kildonan Castle*, I declared my faith in the spinning-wheel in the pages of the *Hind Swaraj*[2] (*Indian Home Rule*), I stood absolutely alone. Will, then, my God who guided my pen into making that declaration of faith at that time, abandon me, when it is put on its trial?

(2) SPIN FOR SACRIFICE—It is in the villages only that the spinning-wheel is largely meant to be introduced, and it is just there that it is at present going on. And if today I beg for sympathy and support, it is for its revival in our villages. Again it is just for this that I have to canvass the sympathy of the educated class. For, just as if we want to teach our villagers who are ignorant how to protect themselves against the ravages of malaria and such other diseases, some people from the educated and middle class will first have to become adepts in the knowledge of the sanitary measures necessary to extirpate these diseases and to observe the rules themselves, similarly it is only when some of us learn spinning and practise it ceaselessly ourselves that we shall be able to teach it to our villagers and overcome their apathy by our personal example. And it goes without saying that unless we use the khadi that they produce the spinning-wheel cannot live. My appeal to the people who live in the cities, therefore, is to spin for sacrifice, while their brethren in the villages do it for reward. The thing is simplicity itself. If only we get at the heart of it, we will find that it hardly affords any room for criticism.

(3) I SPEAK FROM EXPERIENCE—I do regard the spinning-wheel as a gateway to *my* spiritual salvation, but I recommend it to others only as a powerful weapon for the attainment of swaraj and the amelioration of the economic condition of the country. To those also who aspire to observe *brahmacharya*, I do present the spinning-wheel. It is not a thing to be despised, for it is experience here that speaks. A person who wants to subdue his passions has need to be calm. All commotion within him ought to cease; and so quiet and gentle is the motion of the spinning-wheel, that it has been known to still the passions of those who have turned it in the fulness of faith. I have been able to compose my anger by turning it, and I can adduce similar testimony of several other *brahmacharis*. Of course it would be quite easy to laugh down

[1] Actually 1909; *Vide* Vol. X, p. 6.

[2] *Vide* Vol. X.

all such persons as fools and nincompoops, but it would not be found to be cheap in the end. For the scoffer in a fit of anger loses a beautiful means wherewith to compose his passions and attain vigour and strength. I therefore particularly recommend to every young man and young woman who reads these lines to give the spinning-wheel a trial. They will find that shortly after they sit down to spin, their passions begin to subside. I do not mean to say that they would remain calm for all the rest of the day even after the spinning is discontinued; for, human passions are fleeter even than the wind and to subdue them completely requires no end of patience. All that I claim is that in the spinning-wheel they will find a powerful means of cultivating steadiness. But then, someone will ask, why do not I recommend the far more poetical rosary, if that is the purpose which it is intended to subserve? My reply to this is that the spinning-wheel possesses some virtues in addition to those it has in common with the rosary. I have not prescribed it for a recluse living in a state of nature in a cave of the Himalayas and subsisting on the herbs and roots of the forest. I have placed it only before such countless persons like myself who, while living in the work-a-day world, are anxious to serve the country and to practise *brahmacharya* simultaneously.

And as for ridiculing my suggestion to ply the spinning-wheel for securing the release of the Bengal prisoners, it only comes to this that we are not prepared to stir ourselves a single inch to secure their release. For the spinning-wheel here means the boycott of all foreign cloth. And what a compelling force that has and how we are at present unable to develop any other kind of force, we shall presently see as we proceed with our examination of the other points that follow. My presenting the spinning-wheel even to veteran soldiers fit to wield the lance and the sword, therefore, is not a sign of madness but a hall-mark of knowledge—a knowledge not derived merely from book-learning but from the plenitude of experience.

(4) WHY IT IS THE ONLY POLITICAL PROGRAMME—The question as to what loss would the British suffer if India stopped purchasing her sixty crore rupees worth of cloth from them is quite out of place. Our duty is simply to see whether and if so, how far it would profit us. The stopping of the purchase of sixty crores worth of foreign cloth would, in the first place, mean the saving of so much money to the crores of Indian homes. In other words it would mean so much addition to their income. Then, it would spell the creation of so much fresh industry, the organization of crores into a joint co-operative effort, the conservation and utili-

zation of the energy of the millions and the dedication of crores of lives to the service of the motherland. The carrying out of such a gigantic task would, further, give us a realization of our own strength. It would mean our acquiring a thorough mastery of the details and innumerable knotty problems which it presents, e.g., learning to keep account of every pie, learning to live in the villages in sanitary and healthy conditions, removing the difficulties that block the way and so on. For, unless we learn all this, we would not be able to accomplish this task. The spinning-wheel, then, provides us with a means for generating this capacity in us. So long, therefore, as one has not grasped the inner meaning of the wheel, one may ridicule it, but when once the grand meaning is understood it would become simply impossible to tear oneself away from it.

Again, the British are an intelligent people. The officials are a wise and shrewd lot. I know this. That is why I present the spinning-wheel to my people. We cannot overreach the British by the glibness of our tongue or by the power of our pen. Our threats they have grown quite accustomed to, while as for our physical prowess it can avail us but little against their bombs rained down from the aeroplanes. But these people understand and respect patience, perseverance, determination and capacity for organization. Cloth represents the biggest item of their trade. The accomplishment of its boycott by us would awaken them to a sense of our strength. They are not holding India merely to feed their pride; nor is it by mere force of arms, but it is by tact and cunning that their rule over us is maintained. When their trade is made to rest on our untramelled free will, their rule also will undergo a similar transformation. Today both are being imposed on us against our will. If we succeed in shaping one of them according to our will, the other will automatically follow suit. But it is easy enough to understand that while their trade relations with us remain unchanged, no change in the political relationship is possible.

I may repeat that I would today discard the spinning-wheel if someone shows a better and more universal political programme than hand-spinning. But up to this time I have found none, I have been shown none. I am anxious to know if there is any.

(5) How It Solves the Bread Problem—That the spinning-wheel can solve our bread problem hardly needs to be proved to a reader of the *Navajivan*. The figures published about various khadi organizations would show that thousands of poor women are today eking out their living by spinning. Nobody has yet

denied that the spinning-wheel can bring the spinner at least an anna a day. And there are crores of people in India who hardly earn even a pice a day. So long as things stand thus, it is hardly necessary to point out the close relation that exists between the spinning-wheel and the bread problem.

As for the charge that the spinning-wheel has done harm to the country it is up to those who level it to prove it. This activity is by its very nature such that there can be no waste of effort in it. Nothing can interrupt its continuity and even a little exercise of it saves one from mighty evils. What does it matter if some khadi shops came to an end? That phenomenon is common to every trade. The money invested in them has at least remained in the country, while the experience gained through it has enabled us to make further progress. Besides, if some of the shops had to close down, instances can be cited of many more, better organized shops that have grown up in their place.

(6) SUPPLEMENTS, DOES NOT REPLACE—I have not contemplated, much less advised, the abandonment of a single healthy, life-giving industrial activity for the sake of hand-spinning. The entire foundation of the spinning-wheel rests on the fact that there are crores of semi-unemployed people in India. And I should admit that if there were none such there would be no room for the spinning-wheel. But as a matter of fact everybody who has been to our villages knows that they have months of idleness which may prove their ruin. Even my appeal to the middle class people to spin for sacrifice is with reference to their spare hours. The spinning-wheel movement is destructive of no enterprise whatever. It is a life-giving activity. And that is why I have called it *Annapurna*[1] or *the butter for bread* or the replenisher.

Young India, 27-5-1926

540. *MY NOTES*

AMRELI KHADI CENTRE

This Centre was started by Shri Chitalia at the very beginning of the khadi movement. Thereafter Shri Amritlal Thakkar took it over and expanded its work considerably. As everyone was inexperienced at that time, loss was inevitable. The results, however, were beneficial on the whole for, besides our gaining experience, some poor women got a little help. Shri Jivanlal and Ramji Hans-

[1] Provider of food—consort of Siva—worshipped as the giver of plenty

raj also came to take interest in its activities. The former invested some money in it, and Ramjibhai took over as its Manager. He engaged Shri Jaisukhlal's services. They made a hand-press for yarn and started preserving it in the form of bales. They then established branches around Amreli in places where poverty was rampant and good workers were available, and brought about improvement in the quality of the yarn and the khadi. Previously, yarn of three counts was used for weaving, whereas now yarn of eight counts is used and this yarn is stronger than three-count yarn. With the beginning of this year the Centre entered the fourth stage in its growth, that is, Shri Jivanlal and Shri Ramji asked me to relieve them of the responsibility of running this Centre and expressed their wish that some institution should take over its management. Shri Ramji pleaded his failing health and Shri Jivanlal wished to be free so that he might be able to help in his own business. The management of this Centre, therefore, has been taken over on my advice by the Kathiawar Political Conference, and it will shortly be handed over to trustees appointed by the Conference so that the Centre may be run properly. The amount of ten thousand rupees invested by Shri Jivanlal in this Centre remains with it. Besides this, the amount of five thousand rupees contributed by him to the purse is also invested in the Centre in accordance with his wishes. He is also giving a grant of two thousand rupees annually, and this he will continue for three years. The following plan has been drawn up for the present year.

There was a stock of old cotton and yarn weighing approximately 430 maunds. Cotton weighing 850 maunds has been purchased at the new, that is, cheaper rate. All the cotton will be spun, but at the end of the year 350 maunds of yarn will remain on hand, unwoven. For this programme to be fulfilled the following amounts of money will have to reach homes of the poor by the end of the year.

Rs. 2,000 for carders
Rs. 1,000 for women preparing slivers
Rs. 8,000 for spinning (distributed among 1,000 women)
Rs. 14,000 for weaving and bleaching

The Centre has four branches: at Chalala, Bagasara, Chittal and Babara. At the last place, work is done on a commission basis. In all, 17 persons work there, including a cook and a peon. The highest salary paid is Rs. 70, and next in order are Rs. 50 and Rs. 35. Five persons get Rs. 30 each. Then there is one man getting Rs. 25, two getting Rs. 20 each, two others getting Rs. 18 each, one getting Rs. 15, two others Rs. 12 each, and one more

person getting Rs. 10. The monthly salary-bill comes to Rs. 455. Add to this Rs. 70 as rent, Rs. 55 travelling expenses and Rs. 10 postage, making a total of Rs. 590. The expenses incurred at the villages of Babara, Gariyadhar and Panch Talavada, where work is done on commission basis, come to about Rs. 50 a month.

We shall now examine the costs. The old stock of cotton weighing 430 maunds was purchased at the rate of Rs. 22 per maund and the 850 maunds of new cotton at the rate of Rs. 13 per maund. The cost of cotton, therefore, comes to about Rs. 16 per maund. Hence:

40 seers of cotton	Cost	Rs.	16
Less 6 seers loss in carding	Cost of carding it, .	Rs.	3
34 seers of slivers	Cost	Rs.	19
Less 1 seer lost in spinning	Cost of spinning .	Rs.	7½
33 seers of yarn	Cost	Rs.	26½
Less 2 seers lost while weaving	Cost of weaving .	Rs.	10
31 seers, balance; cloth	from it, 88 yds.	Rs.	36½

This comes to 6½ annas per yard (of unbleached khadi; width 28 inches).

Expenses on management have not been counted in working out this figure. The payment for carding is not always Rs. 3. It varies between Rs. 2½ and Rs. 3. Payment is at the rate of Rs. 3 only if the carding is of the highest quality. The rate of payment for spinning is 2 paisa per count, and the Rs. 7½ counted here is for yarn of seven counts. These rates, therefore, should be considered as approximate. The price at which the khadi is sold includes half an anna per yard added to the cost as worked out above, but that is not sufficient to defray the expenses on management. Shri Jivanlal's grant will be utilized to meet this loss and any other loss which may occur will be met from the general collections made. But the aim is to see that management expenses do not exceed one anna per rupee. This ideal, however, has not been realized anywhere in the country. But, as we gain experience, the workers become more efficient and the quality of spinning improves, the expenses on management will come down. The position today is not what it was four years ago. The point which anyone who buys khadi should note is this, that deducting the half anna per yard for management expenses, the rest of the price they pay for khadi, i.e., 6½ annas per yard, goes into the pockets of the cultivators and the persons engaged in carding, spinning and weaving. If, even from this, we deduct the cost of cotton, the wages paid for carding, spinning and weaving come to one and

a quarter times the cost of cotton. The reason for calling attention to all this is to tell the consumer who buys khadi that, if indigenous cotton is used in manufacturing all the cloth we require, not only will the cost of cotton be paid to our cultivators but the balance of the price paid by him will also go into the pockets of our workers. On the other hand, those who purchase foreign cloth send the money outside, and those who purchase mill cloth help to make the rich richer. The worker gets at the most one pice for every yard.

The reader will now appreciate Abbas Sahib's motive in undertaking a sale-tour of Kathiawar in such a hot season, and the reason why people should buy all the khadi he has. The women who are engaged in spinning have no other work or source of income, and the few pice they earn daily go a long way to help them. The purchaser of this khadi, therefore, helps these sisters and, along with them, those poor people who are engaged in weaving and carding, by providing them work.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 16-5-1926

541. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 16, 1926

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I had your telegram about Devdas. Dr. Dalal suspected appendicitis and advised operation. I had no hesitation in agreeing and so the operation was performed in the presence of Jamnalalji and Mahadev. I was not present but I saw him on Thursday on my way to Mahabaleshwar and Deolali where I went to see Mathuradas who is ailing. Devdas is doing quite well and expects to be discharged about the 25th instant. There is no cause for the slightest anxiety. I am dictating this at Mahabaleshwar which I reached this afternoon at about 5 o'clock. I am to see the Governor on Tuesday[1].

Here is a copy of the letter[2] from Vithalbhai. He came to the Ashram after writing the letter. I told him about the conversation we had about the Speaker's salary. He told me that he knew nothing of any arrangement for giving half or any portion of the salary to the party funds. I thereupon told him that I must

[1] May 18, 1926; another meeting was fixed for the 19th.

[2] *Vide* Appendix I.

consult you before accepting the cheque. Will you please tell me what is to be done?

Sir Chunilal Mehta[1] told me as we were walking that you had decided not to go to England but to take rest at a hill-side station leaving the leadership of the party to Mr. Iyengar[2]. Are you not going to England?

Yours sincerely,

PANDIT MOTILALJI NEHRU
ANAND BHAVAN
ALLAHABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 11312

542. LETTER TO HARIBHAU G. PHATAK

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 17, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I hope to be in Poona Wednesday morning and drive straight to Sinhgarh to see Kaka. I return in the evening and we should meet at Professor Trivedi's house where I want to go to see his son. I leave the same night for Bombay.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. HARIBHAU GANESH PHATAK
341, SADASHIV PETH
POONA CITY

From the original: C.W. 2800. Courtesy: Haribhau Phatak

[1] Member, Executive Council of Bombay; Gandhiji stayed with him at Mahabaleshwar.

[2] S. Srinivasa Iyengar

543. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 17, 1926

DEAR LALA SHANKERLAL

I had your letter. I am glad Sjt. Gidwani[1] has been appointed Principal of the Prem Maha Vidyalaya. He has given me a copy of your letter to him. I shall gladly go through your rules[2] and make such suggestions as I think necessary.

I shall write to Dr. Ray after I know what is really required. It will be, perhaps, better to postpone the matter of writing to Dr. Ray till after Acharya Gidwani is there and has considered what should be done.

Yours sincerely,

LALA SHANKERLAL
DELHI

[ENCLOSURE]

1. Spinning-wheel may have as many spindles as can be worked by one person with or without the help of the feet.
2. It should yield per hour at least 3,000 yards of even, well-twisted yarn of not less than 10 counts from hand-carded slivers.
3. It should cost not more than £4, i.e., Rs. 60.
4. It should be portable.
5. Broken parts should be capable of being easily mended or at least easily procurable.
6. In careful hands it should work smoothly at the rate of 8 hours per day for full one year without requiring repairs.
7. The operator should do with his hands and feet what an ordinary man or woman may be expected to learn to do inside of a week.
8. No more energy should be required to work the machine than is needed for working a sewing machine.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19556

[1] A. T. Gidwani

[2] Presumably the enclosure found in the source

544. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

May 18, 1926

CHI. MIRA,

I had your letter. Not *Main yeh (iss)*[1] *vakt ka aisa upayog karenge* but *Main iss vakt ka aisa upayog karungi*.[2] The verbal ending must be feminine.

I am writing this at night just before retiring. Therefore I must be brief. Nargis was here. She is looking better. The place is no doubt cool but not cold.

With love,

BAPU

[PS.]

Please give the accompanying to Manibehn.

From the original: C.W. 5186. Courtesy: Mirabehn

545. PUNJAB COMPARATIVE FIGURES

I am enabled this week to give the following comparative tables[3] of production and sale of khadi in the Punjab:

Though the figures do not show the rise as in the Abhoy Ashram, the figures are nearly twice as much as in 1923-24 or 1924-25 during the corresponding period. This is no sign of khadi losing ground in the Punjab.

Young India, 20-5-1926

[1] Gandhiji corrected "*yeh*" into "*iss*".

[2] This is in Devanagri script. It means: "I shall use this time in this way."

[3] Not reproduced here. These were for 1922-23 to 1925-26.

546. WAR OR PEACE

It was not without purpose that I reproduced the main parts of Mr. Page's very able pamphlet on the World War.[1] I hope that the reader followed them with the care and attention the chapters deserved. Mr. Page has proved conclusively that both the parties were equally to blame and that both resorted to barbarous and inhuman practices. We did not need Mr. Page's help to learn that no war of which history has any record took so many lives as this did. Moral loss was greater still. Poisonous forces destructive of the soul (lying and deception) were brought to perfection as much as the forces destructive of the body. The moral results have been as terrible as the physical. It is yet too early to measure the effect on mankind of the collapse of the sexual morality brought about by the War. Vice has usurped the throne of virtue. The brute in man has for the time being gained supremacy.

The after-effects are, perhaps, more terrible than the actual and immediate effects. There is no stability about the government of any single State of Europe. No class is satisfied with its own condition. Each wants to better it at the expense of the rest. War between the States has now become a war within each State.

India has to make her choice. She may try, if she wishes, the way of war and sink lower than she has. In the Hindu-Muslim quarrel, she seems to be taking her first lesson in the art of war. If India can possibly gain her freedom by war, her state will be no better and will be, probably, much worse than that of France or England.. Past examples have become obsolete. Not even Japan's comparative progress can be any guide. For, "the science" of war has made much greater "progress" since the Russo-Japanese war. Its result can only be studied in the present condition of Europe. We can safely say that if India throws off the British yoke by the way of war, she must go through the state Mr. Page has graphically described.

But the way of peace is open to her. Her freedom is assured if she has patience. That way will be found to be the shortest even though it may appear to be the longest to our impatient nature. The way of peace insures internal growth and stability. We reject it because we fancy that it involves submission to the will of the ruler who has imposed himself upon us. But the moment we realize

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXIX, pp. 275-6.

that the imposition is only so-called and that through our unwillingness to suffer loss of life or property, we are party to the imposition, all we need do is to change that negative attitude of passive endorsement. The suffering to be undergone by the change will be nothing compared to the physical suffering and the moral loss we must incur in trying the way of war. And the sufferings of war harm both the parties. The sufferings in following the way of peace must benefit both. They will be like the pleasurable travail of a new birth.

Let us not be misled by a hasty generalization of the events of 1920-21. Great as the achievement of that brilliant period was, it was nothing compared to what it might have been, had we been true and had faith. Violence was in the breasts of many of us whilst with our lips we paid homage to non-violence. And, though we were thus false to our creed, so far as we had accepted it, we blamed it and lost faith instead of blaming and correcting ourselves. Chauri Chaura was a symptom of the disease that was poisoning us. Ours was claimed to be a peaceful, non-violent way. We could not sustain the claim in its fulness. The 'enemy's' taunts we need not mind. They saw violence even where there was not a trace of it. But we could not disregard the judgment of the 'still small voice within'. It knew the violence within.

The way of peace is the way of truth. Truthfulness is even more important than peacefulness. Indeed, lying is the mother of violence. A truthful man cannot long remain violent. He will perceive in the course of his search that he has no need to be violent and he will further discover that so long as there is the slightest trace of violence in him, he will fail to find the truth he is searching.

There is no half way between truth and non-violence on the one hand and untruth and violence on the other. We may never be strong enough to be entirely non-violent in thought, word and deed. But we must keep non-violence as our goal and make steady progress towards it. The attainment of freedom, whether for a man, a nation or the world, must be in exact proportion to the attainment of non-violence by each. Let those, therefore, who believe in non-violence as the only method of achieving real freedom, keep the lamp of non-violence burning bright in the midst of the present impenetrable gloom. The truth of a few will count, the untruth of millions will vanish even like chaff before a whiff of wind.

Young India, 20-5-1926

547. A GOOD EXAMPLE

The Secretary, A.I.S.A.[1], has received the information that the Allahabad Municipal Board has adopted a resolution removing octroi duty on hand-spun yarn and khadi. I congratulate the Board on its patriotic decision which I hope other Municipalities will copy.

Young India, 20-5-1926

548. NOTES

INDIANS IN AUSTRALIA

An Indian settler of Australia says in the course of a letter[2]:

The correspondent sends too the original letter received by him in reply to his mining application from the Registrar, Mines Department, which I copy below:

> With reference to your letter of the 31st ultimo, I would advise you that we are unable to issue Miners' Rights to persons of Indian race.

This letter is an eye-opener. It was thought that in Australia there was no racial discrimination against those Asiatics who had settled there. But the correspondent's letter, fortified as it is with an original letter from the Mines Department, leaves no room for doubt.

TWO ANGLES OF VISION

The deciding reason why with all the will in the world Europeans and Indians do not have hearty communion as a class is because we have different angles of vision. We say that reforms are inadequate, that the educated classes can best represent the masses and that we are one nation though differing in language and religion. It is not to the purpose just now to prove the assertions. It is enough to state that educated India honestly holds the views set forth above.

[1] All-India Spinners' Association

[2] Not reproduced here; the correspondent said that a coloured person could get no employment in Australia, even if he were a very good engineer and could hold a piece of land, if at all, only in the name of a white trustee.

But the European view honestly held is set forth in the briefest and the boldest manner in a manifesto[1] addressed by the European Association to every European in India:

How is it possible for the two to meet for common action in frank and free fellowship when the two stand as poles asunder in thought and aspirations as the manifesto clearly shows? A mere make-believe association or co-operation can only debase both, for they meet with mental reservations and mutual distrust. The situation is tragic; but true. To end the tragedy, the first essential is to realize the truth of it. Union is desirable, it must come, but it will come only when we have begun to think the same thing. And that will come when we Indians show our earnestness and prove our belief in a common nationality and capacity for representing the masses by acting as one nation and suffering for the masses.

Young India, 20-5-1926

549. KHADI GRAPHS

The following graphs[2] showing the comparative progress of khadi during 1924-25 and 1925-26 during the months October to March in Tamil Nadu cannot fail to interest the reader.

Young India, 20-5-1926

550. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, May 22, 1926

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I had been to Mahabaleshwar to see the Governor, from where I have returned today. I got your letter before I had left Mahabaleshwar. The Governor and I practically talked about nothing but the spinning-wheel movement. Devdas is quite well; he will leave the hospital in a few days. Kusum and Dhiru are

[1] Not reproduced here; it said that the Europeans opposed the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms because the Indians were not a nation and the intelligentsia did not represent the masses which had never demanded representative government.

[2] Not reproduced here

still with Jaya. I met them too. They will leave Bombay on the 25th. I had also been to Deolali to see Mathuradas. His health may be described as fairly good. I met there Prabhudas and Vijaya, too. Prabhudas seems to have improved. He is under the treatment of some *vaid*.

Is the fine yarn which you have with you also strong enough? If it is, can you arrange to get it woven by Wanjas? At Bagasra these people weave khadi out of very fine yarn. Formerly, they would not touch mill-yarn at all. Do you know that in the year 1915 we made special arrangements with them and had khadi woven out of such fine yarn? The Marwari teacher's father in Amreli may also weave khadi out of fine yarn. The first thing to ascertain, therefore, is whether or not the yarn is strong. I shall think about this matter, whether the weaving can be done here. I do not know what happened about the strips of khadi from Gariyadhar. In any case, I think it will be better if you can collect such strips. If people hesitate to give them, cannot you convince them that it is very necessary to have all the samples tested by one expert to ascertain whether both the warp and the woof in every sample are hand-spun, and therefore, strips have to be sent [to Ahmedabad]? If, however, sending strips is impossible, you may get the samples tested there with the help of any person selected by you and pay everyone as soon as his material is tested.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19555

551. LETTER TO CHANDULAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, Vaisakh Sud 10[1], *May 22, 1926*

BHAISHRI CHANDULAL,

I got your letter. I congratulate you on your decision to marry Chi. Kamala outside the circle prescribed by your community even in opposition to the wishes of the latter. I pray that the wedding celebration may be successful, that the husband and the wife live long and always lead an ideal life which others might emulate.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19557

[1] The source has 11 which, however, was a Sunday.

552. MY NOTES

"Vegetable Ghee"

Nowadays misuse of names has been on the increase. Only cloth woven by hand from hand-spun yarn can be called khadi, but the mills give to the thick cloth produced by them the name of khädi. Again, some cheat the people by giving the name partial khadi to cloth woven by hand from mill-spun yarn. The same practice is followed in regard to ghee. Ghee is in fact a product made from milk; still there is now a new product called "vegetable ghee". Coconut oil does not become ghee by merely calling it "vegetable ghee", nor can it have the properties of ghee. Nowadays such synthetic ghee is being imported in large quantities. It is well packed and appears just like ghee; hence simple-minded people buy it. Moreover, since fat is sold under the name of ghee or because it is mixed with ghee, many people use "vegetable ghee", being afraid of using ghee.

I shall not only use but even propagate vegetable ghee if a vegetable product possessing the same properties as ghee is available. I find fault with the use of ghee. But I cannot disregard its good properties. It has not so far been possible to extract a product from vegetables which will serve as a substitute for ghee. Therefore, the product which is being sold as vegetable ghee has to be rejected on two counts: one, it is not ghee and two, it does not contain the properties of ghee. Thirdly, the harm done is that today we use many foreign products and we have now unwillingly started using one more foreign product, much to our detriment. Therefore, everyone using "vegetable ghee" should beware and give up its use.

High or Low?

A newspaper correspondent writes:[1]

This is a difficult question. But from the point of ahimsa, there can be only one reply and that is that one who inflicts pain on small creatures for a selfish purpose also becomes low himself. Man is a mixture of humility and greatness. His greatness lies in his ability to be humble. If he does not have the capacity to

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had asked how man who tormented other creatures to achieve his selfish ends could be considered higher than other creatures.

be humble, he cannot be considered to be great. Then there will be no scope whatever for rising high. Therefore it is said that one who does not harm other creatures for achieving his own ends and is ready to suffer pain for the sake of all living beings is alone fit to attain the vision of the self.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 23-5-1926

553. SOCIETIES FOR COW-PROTECTION

Bhai Jivraj Nenshi writes as follows:[1]

This is not a new suggestion. The All-India Goraksha Mandal has been established just for this purpose. But as I get more experience I realize the difficulties in the way of bringing all such societies together under one body and a common set of rules. I have asked for full details from as many societies as have sent their names and addresses. But very few of them have supplied the information asked for. It is not that they do not wish to send particulars, but probably lethargy or indifference or a feeling of shame prevents them from replying. The shame is on the score of lack of proper management, for I have seen institutions which were not properly managed and did not maintain proper accounts. At many places the people who run these institutions are so ill-educated that they simply cannot furnish the information asked for. It is said that there are some 1,500 *goshalas* in India. If they are all properly managed and turned into dairies, there is no doubt at all that the problem of protecting the cows will be then very easy to solve. But what is the way to bring this about? Who will bell the cat? I will only say this, that it is necessary to infuse life into all these institutions. It is difficult to frame rules for them unless they work as model dairies and leather work-shops. The All-India Goraksha Mandal has not been indifferent to this task. Efforts are being made to plan a dairy with Sir Harold Mann's help; and similarly plans for a leather work-shop are also being drawn up. Such experiments for the purpose of cow-protection being new, plans for them cannot be prepared immediately. The articles

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had suggested that the various bodies in the country for the protection of weak and infirm cattle should unite to form an all-India body and formulate a plan whereby they would maintain healthy cattle, supply pure milk to the people and from the income so derived look after weak and infirm cattle.

written by Shri Valji Desai[1] and Mr. Galletti show that India stands lowest in regard to treatment of cattle. How can we, then, get experts in dairy science and leather work so easily?

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 23-5-1926

554. *TELEGRAM TO K. T. PAUL*

May 23, 1926

YOUR WIRE. WROTE FULLY SATURDAY. VIEW DIFFICULTIES FINANCIAL OTHERS MENTIONED YOUR LETTER SUGGEST CANCELLATION INVITATION.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 11347

555. *LETTER TO K. T. PAUL*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I have not telegraphed to you because your letter do[es] not lend itself to a brief telegram. From your letter I gather that this proposed visit of mine is causing you a great deal of trouble and worry. Please do not worry over this thing. Do not in any way consider that because you have been the vehicle for conveying the invitation to me you must make it a certainty. You and I must look at this thing with complete detachment and undertake the mission only if the hand of God appears to be in it in the clearest manner possible. If then there is any question of forcing the pace you may retrace your step and dismiss the invitation from your mind as if it had never been sent.

You mention the finance. That must be a consideration for the Central Council, not for you and me unless you are supposed to find the wherewithal. I would have gladly begged the necessary funds from a friend if it was thought necessary. But I hold it to be wrong on principle, for those who invite me should bear the cost.

[1] Published in *Young India* from 14-1-1926 to 8-7-1926

Again, as far as I am concerned I could go with just as much comfort in 3rd class as I would in 1st class. Given cleanliness and sufficient privacy and protection against bad weather, I would prefer deck to saloon passage. On my return from South Africa I took a 3rd class ticket from Cape Town to London and was none the worse for it. There was no deck passage available. But in the present case I suppose nothing but the saloon is to be thought of as a matter of show. But if the Central Committee undertook to carry me as a 3rd class passenger I should not regard it as an insult in any shape or form but the whole thing must be done by the Central Council or by those who are responsible for the invitation without any interference or prompting on my part.

So far as goat's milk is concerned I would not think of you or any of my companions being responsible for milking or keeping goats. It must be left to the steamship company. The managers must make what arrangements they choose. It is no easy matter for passengers to control such things on steamer. What would one do when there is a storm or if the goats die. Such things are always best left to the steamship owners. They know how to manage them.

My companions would be two—Mahadev Desai and Devdas Gandhi, my youngest son. At first I had intended to take only one but I feel that in the present state of my physical condition and public engagements which I must carry out whether I am stationary or not these two assistants are necessary. I should consider it a privilege to have you also as a helper but I am afraid you could not take the place of either Mahadev Desai or Devdas. What class they should travel is not a matter of any moment but if they are to travel by a class lower to mine there must be an arrangement with steamship owners so as to enable me to have access to them all the time I want them for my assistance. Needless to say both are vegetarians.

I suppose you remember what I stated in my first letter to you that passports and everything else will have to be managed by the inviting party.

I now conclude as I began and repeat that all things considered it would be better for you to drop the idea of my visit to Finland.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 11346

556. *MESSAGE TO NON-BRAHMINS*

SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

If non-Brahmins will only think more of the poorest people of the land and therefore of the charkha and khadi rather than of political progress through the instrumentality of the existing Government, they will better their condition and that of the whole of India to that extent.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19569

557. *LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I knew that you would take the blow—for such it is from a worldly standpoint—bravely. I do believe that truly speaking we can say that God had no more work for Shums Tyabji in the body that is now lying peacefully in the grave and fast being reduced to dust. If you had no faith in God and no faith in the persistence of the soul after the dissolution of the body and you refused to shed tears, you would be considered callous. But as I know that you have faith in the persistence of the soul and in the Divinity that permeates the universe your refusal to give way to grief is a sign of resignation to the will of God and an appreciation of the true nature of death.

Jamnalalji is still in Bombay and you can see him yourself. I shall write to him. Do you know that Devdas is in Sir Harikisendas Hospital?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

ABBAS TYABJI, ESQ.
C/o M. B. TYABJI
FRENCH ROAD, CHAUPATTI
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 9555

558. LETTER TO A. T. GIDWANI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

MY DEAR GIDWANI,

I had your postcard. I cannot understand why you did not receive my letter sent to you to Abu. It was . . .[1] who took the letter. However it does not matter much now. I shall be interested to know what you saw at Kanodar. I know that there is a great deal of weaving going on there. But it is all from machine-spun yarn whether foreign or swadeshi.

I arrived from Mahabaleshwar yesterday. I had no talk with the Governor except about the charkha.

Herewith the letter from Lala Shankerlal. There seems to be enormous scope for improvement and expansion of the Vidyalaya. When the papers come you and I must put our heads together before you go away and frame something. I knew that the institution had a large income. But I never knew that it was so large as is mentioned by Lala Shankerlal. I shall look to you to make this old institution a thorough success.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. A. T. GIDWANI

From a microfilm: S.N. 11263

559. LETTER TO EDWIN M. STANDING

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your second letter. I do not say anything about your first because I had not yet had the time to study it which I propose to find time to do in a few days. You may depend upon my giving it the attention that the efforts you have made in writing do[wn] your thought for me deserve.

I thank you for the book and the beautiful photograph you have sent me. About photographs from me I do not possess any and

[1] Blank as in the source

I have to hunt for them. I have now even forgotten what photographs you asked for. May I trouble you to tell me again?

Yes. Motah Bahen is as faithful in her work as ever and her work is prospering. She puts all her life into it and it is like the leaven that raises it all and works into [*sic*]. She is at present at Darjeeling with Mr. and Mrs. Ambalal. She was disinclined to go but it was necessary for her.

I am almost inclined to think that I am not going to Finland but I shall know definitely during the next fortnight. If I do go I shall be leaving in the beginning of July.

Yours sincerely,

EDWIN M. STANDING, ESQ.
SEFTON PLACE
ARUNDEL, SUSSEX
ENGLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 12474

560. LETTER TO R. B. GREGG

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

MY DEAR GOVIND,

I have your deeply interesting letter for which I am thankful. I now understand the school and its purpose. Is it Sunderam of Coimbatore? If so, please congratulate him and also ascertain from him how he managed to gravitate there. He must be there with his wife. If so, what is she doing?

I know that Stokes is doing great and good work and gives his all to it. How I should love to convince him that he does not need Government recognition for his school. There must be some method of enabling the boys to earn their own living without the Government patronage. The path is not easy but it is the only one that he or shall I say we must tread. However I must not criticize. He must work by the light of his own conscience even though to an outsider he may seem to be erring.

If I go to Finland at all, I shall bear in mind all your caution and take with me a wardrobe full of warm clothing and I promise, if I feel the cold so much, to wrap myself out of recognition. If I go to Finland I shall see that all the notes that are taken you receive a copy of. Meanwhile send me all the questions that arose in your mind.

The path of ahimsa, I know, is thorny. At every step the thorns prick and sometimes bleed one.

I was out for nearly a week passing a few hours with the Governor at Mahabaleshwar trying to persuade him that the only recommendation that the Royal Commission on Agriculture can make is to popularize the charkha and assure the masses that all the yarn that they can spin will be taken up by the Government and woven for the people.

With love to you all including the baby with kisses added for it.

I do not know whether it is he or she.

Yours sincerely,

R. B. GREGG, ESQ.
C/o S. E. STOKES, ESQ.
KOTAGARH, SIMLA HILLS

From a photostat: S.N. 19561

561. LETTER TO P. N. RAJAMANICKAM CHETTIYAR

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and the parcel of khadi for which I thank you. If you persist long enough you will find that you have all the assistance you need. Your yarn is not as even as it might be nor as strong. You must attempt to spin better.

Your weaving is also not close enough but all these things are merely a matter of practice and practice will make you perfect.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. N. RAJAMANICKAM CHETTIYAR
BHARATHA KHADDAR PRACHAR SALA
TIYAGADURGAN (S.A. DIST.)

From a microfilm: S.N. 19562

562. *LETTER TO G. K. DEVADHAR*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

MY DEAR DEVADHAR,

I have your letter. It will be a pleasure to meet you whenever you can come. And when you do come of course you will stay at the Ashram. I know that you are not likely to come here before the rains have probably set in. At the present moment we are boiling here. I don't want you to find yourself in the oven with us.

I hope Mrs. Devadhar is better now. She must come next winter to the Ashram and pass a few days here.

When you return you will send me a report about Manorama.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. K. DEVADHAR
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19563

563. *LETTER TO S. G. VAZE*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

DEAR VAZE,

I have your letter. I am glad you have been chosen to be the bearer of Dr. Norman Ley's beautiful letter to me. There was certainly no occasion for any apology whatsoever. Where there is frankness and honesty resentment is impossible. I hope to send a reply to Dr. Ley by the next mail.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19564

564. LETTER TO A. L. NAIR

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

DEAR DR. NAIR,

I thank you for your letter of the 19th instant. For the reasons explained to you I am unable to stay in Bombay up to the 26th instant for the ceremony. I hope the function will be successful and that the original intention of the founders will be realized.

Yours sincerely,

DR. A. L. NAIR
MESSRS N. POWELL & CO.
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19565

565. LETTER TO M. R. HAVELIVALLA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I send you my autograph in your album. But I would like to tell you that as a rule I do not give my autograph where my young friends do not promise to wear khaddar and spin for at least half an hour per day in the name and for the sake of the poor people of India. I understand your difficulty about wearing khaddar. Have you the same difficulty about spinning also?

I am glad that Mr. Morris is the brother to the Secretary to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. I congratulate you upon your vegetarianism and upon your reverence for Dr. Besant. She has worked for India as very few born Indians have done.

Yours sincerely,

M. R. HAVELIVALLA
GOPIPURA
SURAT

From a photostat: S.N. 19566

566. LETTER TO INDRA VIDYALANKAR

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

MY DEAR INDRA,

I have your letter. I am replying to you in English as you have chosen to write to me in English. But why in English? My promise of swaraj in 1921 was conditional.[1] The condition was absolute acceptance of non-violent non-co-operation by the people at large. At Viramgam, Bombay[2] and Chauri Chaura[3] these conditions were broken not by the masses but by live Congressmen. If I am silent about what is called the political aspect of the situation I am silent because through my silence I am preaching non-violence. I cannot say anything useful on the many controversial questions that are troubling the country today. And If I am harping upon the charkha in season and out of season again it is because the charkha to me represents non-violence in a concrete shape, for, non-violence is action in the correct sense of the term whereas violence is bad action or inaction.[4] If people want swaraj through non-violent means they can attain it by complete exclusion of foreign cloth and through the charkha and all it means. During the year of grace 1921, I had the hope that we should achieve boycott of foreign cloth by a sudden and simultaneous manifestation of the charkha spirit on the part of the people. That was not to be. And now we have to build the charkha atmosphere among the people. I do not think it will be so long as you imagine before the charkha becomes universal. But even if it does, thinking non-violence I cannot think of any other instrument or activity.

I see you expect a public reply to your question. Do you really want a public reply? I am more anxious to convince you of

[1] *Vide* Vol. XVIII, pp. 270-3.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XXI, pp. 462-5.
[3] *Vide* Vol. XXII, pp. 350-1.
[4] The source has: "violence is or had action inaction".

the soundness of my position than to discuss with others or in *Young India* the question raised by you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. INDRA VIDYALANKAR,
SARGODA

From a photostat: S.N. 19567

567. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

Here is a letter from Santanam in reply to mine. I shall no longer strive with him but wish him every success in his struggle. His is a very good letter.

I saw your letter to Jamnalalji yesterday in Bombay. I hope you have already got rid of pleurisy. With proper care this is a complaint that can be brought under subjection without difficulty. Where do you think your tour should commence? If it is to be in the Southern Presidency and if you do not propose to come to Ahmedabad before commencing the tour, Jamnalalji told me he would join you wherever you want him to. If, however, you consider that the Southern Presidency should for the time being be left alone, some other province can be selected. The selection will then be made here. If it will be too late for your letter to reach here you will telegraph your intentions. In no case will you think of commencing the tour, if you have not got rid of your pleurisy entirely, because more travelling is likely to do some good. Travelling in the monsoon has its danger for a a pleurisy patient.

I need not entertain you with a description of my talks with the Governor. You may know in one sentence that I began the talk and ended it with the charkha. And for the 2nd interview, like the good advertising agent I am, I took with me Mithubai's khaddar saris to demonstrate to the Governor and his wife the possibilities of Andhra khadi. The Governor listened to all I had to say about the spinning-wheel with great attention but, if you ask me how much he was impressed I cannot say.

I saw Mathuradas, Kaka, Devdas and Behram Khambhatta. My rapid wandering was worth while if only to see these precious patients. Devdas is quite all right and much healthier looking

than he was while he was admitted to the Hospital. Kaka has made splendid progress but he must cover still more ground. Mathuradas is better than he was but he cannot be said to be out of wood entirely. Not that there is any danger imminent but he has to take extraordinary care of himself. Behram Khambhatta has some intestinal growth. You may not know him. He is one of the devoted, selfless and silent workers always deliberately putting himself in the background. And his wife is equally good, an incarnation of Sita.

If it will serve as any stimulation for you to become stronger I present you with the information that ten to one I shall not be going to Finland, for, Paul seems to have put his foot into it. Any way he is at sea and does not know how to manage me or my travelling. He offers to milk the she-goat, evidently thinking that it would be the business of my attendants to perform the ceremony from day to day. However the thing will be finally decided within the next fortnight at the most.

Yours,

From a photostat: S.N. 19568

568. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I have a long letter at last from Hema Prabha Devi. It seems to me that she is living at Sodepur under most trying circumstances. She must not do it at the sacrifice of her health. If the climate there is malarial you must find out some other way of building the workshop than by putting Hema Prabha Devi there and making her the first victim. Your own body should also be kept up to the mark which Hema Prabha Devi thinks is not being done.

Nirmal Kumar has done well. I am writing to him. If you can get something from Lalgola it will be a good help. I am told that Chhotalal has now left you. I don't think he will stop there long.

Yours,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19570

569. LETTER TO KONDIPARTY PANNIAH

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

MY DEAR PANNIAH,

I have your letter. You should not have sent your application to me directly. It means a great deal of delay. However now that you have sent it, it will be dealt with in due course.

Where are you staying yourself? Are you now any longer connected with the Pinakini Ashram? If not, what are you doing? Who is to take charge of the weaving school? And how do you propose to teach in one year? What will you do after one year?

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KONDIPARTY PANNIAH
C/O MAḌUM VENKAIAH CHETTY GARU
KURNOOL

From a microfilm: S.N. 19571

570. LETTER TO G. M. NALAVADE

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Here is my message in reply to your circular letter.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

SJT. G. M. NALAVADE
"SANGRAM" OFFICE
SHANWAR PETH
POONA CITY

From a copy: S.N. 19573-R

571. *LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, May 23, 1926

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I got your letter. I have sent to Jamnalal a copy of your letter about the loan for khadi work promised by you. I was shocked by the Sabarmati agreement; I have still not been able to make anything of it. I fully understand the issues involved in the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity, but I am helpless. I do not yield to despair because I cannot give up my faith. Of one thing I am sure, that Hinduism cannot be saved in the way in which it is sought to save it today. But I have full faith in the truth of "*Nirbalke bal Ram*"[1], and so live in complete peace of mind.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original: C.W. 6126. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

572. *LETTER TO HEMA PRABHA DAS GUPTA*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, May 23, 1926

DEAR SISTER,

Your letter this time made me very happy. You do not say anything about your pleasant or unpleasant experiences at the Ashram. I know that there is hard work at Sodepur, and I have written to Satis Babu about that. On no account, however, should you stay there at the cost of your health. You should not draw a single pice from the amount kept in the bank. I do know that khadi work cannot be done without hardship voluntarily suffered, but such hardship should be within one's capacity. May God grant both of you peace and strength.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1647

[1] "Rama is the strength of the helpless", the first line of a Hindi devotional song by Surdas.

573. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday [*May 23, 1926*][1]

BHAISHRI BEHRAMJI,

I have your letter. It was my duty to have gone to you. I have started reading Mrs. Eddy's book. I will certainly write to you after I have finished it. But meanwhile I would suggest to you that you should consult a doctor or a *vaid* for general advice and use the ordinary medicines, and take the utmost care of your health. There is no sin in taking proper care of one's health, but it is a great sin to forsake one's dharma for the sake of one's body. We should treat the body as the field in which the *atman* strives and wins its liberation, and take every innocent measure to preserve it. Please write to me from time to time and keep me informed about your health. Convey my blessings to Tehminabehn.

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA
275 HORNBY ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 4363. Courtesy: Tehmina Khambhatta

574. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, May 23, 1926

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Abbas Tyabji writes to me to remind you lest you forget about his accommodation when you go to Mussoorie. If you are still in Bombay, please call on him to offer your condolences.[2] His address is as follows:

C/o M. B. Tyabji
French Road, Chowpatti.

[1] From the postmark
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Abbas Tyabji", 23-5-1926.

He has the light of knowledge in him. In reply to my telegram, he tells me that he was not at all shocked by the death.

The operation on Lalji took very little time, and seems to have been quite successful. Please get the final figure for the Deshbandhu Fund determined.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2865

575. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, May 23, 1926

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have your letter, as also Girdhari's. I was really very happy that the operation on Lalji was over in a very short time. I shall expect a letter tomorrow giving more news about him. I am very glad that he is in the room next to yours. For one thing, we shall occupy less space in the hospital; there will be, moreover, less trouble for those people and the two of you will feel cheered by being near each other. All this should please you. I have returned without anxiety on your account, but I have realized that, even after having completely recovered, you will have to take good care of yourself. There will be no danger for you provided you take the necessary precautions. I am sure I shall hear from you regularly. Send away Keshu to accompany Kusum and Dhiru on the 25th. But you may detain him if you still need him. Kusum and Dhiru may leave if they get some other escort or may stay on up to 31st. The school reopens on the 1st, at 7 a.m.; it will do if they are present at that time. Kanti and Rasik have arrived today.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19558

576. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

May 24, 1926

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I could never guess the reason you give me for cancelling your passage. But having known the reason, I don't regret the cancellation. Krishna having gone to Jawahar relieves you of all anxiety. I know that you will get from your chamber practice all you need and more.

I have not yet had your dictated letter. I can wait for it. All I can report to you about Mahabaleshwar is that I had pleasant three hours with the Governor. We talked mostly about the spinning-wheel and somewhat about the cattle of India. If there was anything more behind this interview, I did not fathom it. Nor did I try to.

Devdas expects to be discharged in a week's time and is likely to go to Mussoorie for convalescence.

There is nothing yet decided about Finland. The odds are that I am not going. I should know in a week's time.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 19574

577. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday [*May 25, 1926*][1]

CHI. DEVDAS,

I got your two letters together today. Your second letter is rather disturbing, but such ups and downs are nothing unusual and so I am not worried. It seems now that Shri Lalji and you will be discharged at the same time. Whatever that be, I should continue to get detailed news, shouldn't I? There was a telegram today about Finland, saying that the Geneva Committee have accepted my terms. Even then, pending a reply to

[1] The 12th day of Bhansali's fast fell on May 12, 1926; *vide* "Letter to Mahadev Desai", 12-5-1926.

my letter, I will not proceed on the assumption that I am going though now it does seem to me that I shall be going. Even if I go, it is best that you spend a few days with Jamnalalji in Mussoorie. I have already written about Keshu yesterday. [He] should bring along Kusum and Dhiru too. Ramdas is in Morvi today; and will reach Rajkot tomorrow. Bhansali's fast ended today at half past ten. He is so fit no one would believe that he has been fasting for twenty-five days. He has lost sixteen pounds in weight which I think is not much.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19493

578. LETTER TO MOOLSHANKAR

ASHRAM,
May 26, 1926

BHAISHRI MOOLSHANKAR,

I have your letter.

Would you have anything further to say if the facts are as reported by the A.I.S.A. in their reply to you?

I shall write to Bhai Kotak, if necessary, after I have your reply.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19575

579. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM,
Wednesday, May 26, 1926

CHI. DEVDAS,

I got your letter, and also Lalji's. Yesterday I dictated my letter in a hurry, and so one thing was left out. The faintness that you felt when you tried to stand up was not weakness, it was the result of your not having had the practice of standing and walking for some time. Perhaps you may not remember that, when Colonel Maddock permitted me to walk to the lavatory during daytime, he warned me that my legs might tremble and I might feel giddy, but told me not to be alarmed on that account. After you have walked once or twice with some support, you will get back the ability to walk. Hence I am not in the least worried because of your having felt giddy when you tried to stand up. But

I also see that your wound has not completely healed; this is a common enough experience in such operations. No doctor can understand all the facts about the condition of the patient's body, and, therefore, some complication always develops after an operation, but it can be easily cured. The only thing is that the period of your convalescence is becoming a little too long. I have now concluded that Lalji and you will be discharged at about the same time. This, I think, should please you, though what you wanted was that you should get well but should have the privilege of staying on for Lalji's sake. It seems that you will not have that privilege. If, however, all our wishes were granted, would not the world perish? As against one good wish, based on regard for truth, entertained by one person, how many wicked wishes, based on disregard for truth, would there be entertained by others?

Yesterday I got a telegram from Paul, and there was a second one today. He informs that he has collected Rs. 6,000 and hopes that I will not think it necessary to cancel the trip. I will wait for a reply to my letter, but it seems to me that we shall have to go. By not going, we may perhaps put Mr. Paul in an embarrassing position.

I was glad to read all that you write about Dr. Dalal's kindness. I was glad that Abbas Saheb went and saw you; the man's courage is boundless. Keshu has stayed back, and is bound to be of some help to you.

It will do if he arrives here on the 29th.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19552

580. QUARTERLY FIGURES

The All-India Spinners' Association has received from most provinces quarterly returns of production and sale of khadi between January and March 1926. I give the figures[1] below:

The Andhra figures give no indication of the extent of the work that is being done. In spite of several reminders full reports from that province are not available. The Karnatak figures also are largely incomplete. The figures[2] for comparison with the corresponding quarter of the last year are available in the case of the following provinces and it will be seen that all the provinces except Bombay show larger figures this year.

[1] & [2] Not reproduced here

The higher figure for the Punjab sales last year is only apparent because the sales this year are given net while the figure of last year includes inter-sales between branches. Burma and Utkal sales show a slight decrease.

The figures are an under-statement for every province, more especially for Andhra Desha. I once more urge the workers in every province to be prompt in their returns. If the All-India Spinners' Association is to become an efficient organization covering every village of India, it must have the disciplined and intelligent co-operation of all its workers.

Young India, 27-5-1926

581. ITS MEANING

On my return from Mahabaleshwar I was waylaid, though by previous appointment, by fellow non-co-operators. I had limited myself trictly to visiting patients during this unexpected visit to His Excellency the Acting Governor at Mahabaleshwar. And so before reaching Poona station I had arranged just to go to Prof. Trivedi's house to see my young friend Manu who among others had been to me at the Sassoon Hospital in Poona in 1924 an angel of mercy. It was during this visit that I had to divide my time between Manu and the non-co-operators. The latter had the lion's share of it. Manu disengaged me in a few minutes. I envied him as a patient. For though he has been laid up in bed for over six months, I found him quite cheerful and resigned. I had therefore no compunction about leaving him for a chat with the non-co-operating friends.

"How can you go to the Governor and call yourself a non-co-operator?" was the question with which I was greeted.

"I knew what your ailment was," said I. "I shall answer all your questions fully, but on condition that nothing of what I say is to be published by you. If I find it advisable I shall deal with the matter in the pages of *Young India*."

"Yes, we won't publish anything and shall be satisfied if you will answer our questions in *Young India*. Not that I have any doubt about the propriety of your action," added the questioner, "but I represent a large number of non-co-operators whom you often confound by your unexpected acts."

Well, then, let me have all your questions and I shall endeavour to answer them though I confess that it will be all a waste of time. For I feel that time is past for explanations and persuasion. Non-co-operators must instinctively know that I am not likely to

do anything contrary to our code. And if I do, — for I admit I am liable to err, — they must disown me and remain firm in their own convictions. They may have derived their non-co-operation from me but if they have assimilated it, their convictions must not depend upon mine. It must be independent of me and my weaknesses and errors. If I turn traitor, or to put it mildly, if I alter my opinion, they must be ready to denounce me and still abide by their own convictions. That is why I say that our conversation will be a waste of national time. Convinced non-co-operators know their task. Let them fulfil it. But let me have your questions.

"It has been suggested in Bombay that you went to the Governor uninvited, in fact you forced yourself upon his attention. If so, was it not co-operation even without response? What could you have to do with the Governor, I wonder?"

My answer is that I am quite capable even of forcing myself upon the attention of my opponent when I have strength. I did so in South Africa. I sought interviews after interviews with General Smuts when I knew that I was ready for battle. I pleaded with him to avoid the untold hardships that the Indian settlers must suffer, if the great historic march[1] had to be undertaken. It is true that he in his haughtiness turned a deaf ear; but I lost nothing. I gained added strength by my humility. So would I do in India when we are strong enough to put up a real fight for freedom. Remember that ours is a non-violent struggle. It presupposes humility. It is a truthful struggle and consciousness of truth should give us firmness. We are not out to destroy men. We own no enemy. We have no ill-will against a single soul on earth. We mean to convert by our suffering. I do not despair of converting the hardest-hearted or the most selfish Englishman. Every opportunity of meeting him is therefore welcome to me.

Let me distinguish. Non-violent non-co-operation means renunciation of the benefits of a system with which we non-co-operate. We therefore renounce the benefits of schools, courts, titles, legislatures and offices set up under the system. The most extensive and permanent part of our non-co-operation consists in the renunciation of foreign cloth which is the foundation for the vicious system that is crushing us to dust. It is possible to think of other items of non-co-operation. But owing to our weakness or want of ability, we have restricted ourselves to these items only.

[1] On November 6, 1913, against the £3 tax; *vide* Vol. XII, pp. 260 and 657.

If then I go to any official for the purpose of seeking the benefits above-named, I co-operate. Whereas if I go to the meanest official for the purpose of converting him, say to khaddar, or weaning him from his service or persuading him to withdraw his children from Government schools, I fulfil my duty as a non-co-operator. I should fail if I did not go to him with that definite and direct purpose.

Now for the case in point. I went to the Acting Governor at his instance. He wrote to me not as Governor nor for any purpose connected with his office as Governor. He invited me to go to Mahabaleshwar to discuss with him agricultural matters. As I explained some time ago in the pages of *Navajivan*, I told him that I could not be identified with the Royal Commission in any way, that I was still confirmed in my views on non-co-operation and generally had no faith in Commissions. I added further that it would suit me to see him when he descended to the plains. His Excellency therefore wrote saying it would suit him to meet me in June. But subsequently he changed his mind and sent a message that it would suit him better if I could go to Mahabaleshwar. I had no hesitation in going there. We had two very pleasant and long talks. And you are entitled to guess (and that correctly) that our talk revolved round the charkha. That was the central theme. And I could not discuss agriculture without discussing the terrific cattle problem!

I have given but a brief summary of the pleasant conversation I had with the No-change friend. In parts I have amplified my answer in order to make it more intelligible to the general reader.

There were many other points discussed, of which I must mention one or two. I was asked to give my opinion on the Sabarmati pact. I refused to say anything for publication. I must not add to the existing bitterness by entering into the controversy. I can say nothing that would bring the parties together. They are all my co-workers. They are all patriots. The quarrel is purely domestic. It behoves me as a humble servant of the country to be silent where speech is useless. I prefer therefore to wait and pray. I was told that I was misrepresented. I must own that I have studiously avoided reading the literature about the pact. I am used to misrepresentation all my life. It is the lot of every public worker. He has to have a tough hide. Life would be burdensome if every misrepresentation had to be answered and cleared. It is a rule of life with me never to explain misrepresentations except when the cause requires correction. This rule has saved much time and worry.

"But what should we do when all accept offices and what should we do at the forthcoming elections?" was the last question. My answer was:

When the acceptance of office by all parties becomes a settled fact, I presume those who have conscientious scruples will refrain from voting altogether. At the forthcoming elections, too, those who have conscientious objections will refrain. The others will naturally follow the Congress lead and vote as the Congress directs. I have given my definition of a Congressman already in these pages. Not every man who says, "I am a Congressman" is such, but only he who does the will of the Congress.

Young India, 27-5-1926

582. SPINNING AN ART

A Madras Inspectress of Education has pronounced sentence against the spinning-wheel for Brahmin girls. This judgment of hers has given rise to criticism against the lady. If the charkha is good enough for non-Brahmin girls why not, it is argued, for Brahmin girls? The question is apposite when caste arrogance is being levelled to the ground. Moreover the Inspectress evidently does not know that the finest yarn is spun by Brahmin girls and that in many Brahmin families the tradition of spinning for the sacred thread is still kept up.

But a side question has arisen out of the criticism of the Inspectress. Is spinning an art? Is it not a humdrum monotonous process likely to weary the children? Well all the evidence hitherto collected goes to show that spinning is an elegant art and the process itself is extremely pleasant. No mechanical pull is enough to draw the various counts. And those who do spinning as an art know the pleasure they derive when the fingers and the eyes infallibly guide the required count. Art to be art must soothe. I reproduced over a year ago the testimony of Sir Prabhashanker Pattani to show how after the day's trying work he went to the charkha for soothing his nerves and giving him undisturbed sleep. I extract the following passage from the letter of a friend who found solace for her shattered nerves in spinning:

> When . . . I hastened to my room and then in the dark struggled with an anguish which rent me from top to toe, I prayed and strove for some time and then turned to the spinning-wheel and found in it a

magical comfort. The quiet regular motion of its rhythm immediately steadied me and the thought of its service brought me nearer to God.

This is not the solitary experience of one or two but many spinners. It is however no use saying that spinning will be pleasurable to all because it has been the joy of many. Painting is acknowledged to be an exquisite art. But it is not everybody who takes to it.

Young India, 27-5-1926

583. *LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI*[1]

Thursday [*May 27, 1926*]

CHI. DEVDAS,

Once again I have been acting as a tyrant to you as if I could not tolerate anybody being healthy. I cannot write long letters to you because I do not get a single minute free.

I have been thinking whom I can send over to you. We may certainly like that that person should accompany you to the Himalayas, but have we any right to spend money in that manner? You should certainly go. I shall send someone to help you there. Leave the choice to me.

I see that Surendra cannot leave now. You may take Brijkishan with you if he agrees. You will certainly get some company during the journey when you start from there.

Your long letters seem too short to me.

I have not yet been able to decide about the trip to Europe. At present I am waiting for a letter or telegram from Rolland. Raja is of the view that if I go, I must take you with me. Would you like to go?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2043

[1] This forms one of a series of letters to Devdas during his illness.

584. LETTER TO RAJARAM

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Thursday, May 27, 1926

BHAI RAJARAM,

I have your letter. Your son will require two years for the training which you want him to have, provided he is hard-working. In less time than that, one can learn the elementary principles of spinning and weaving, but experience has shown that this is not enough. If persons with inadequate practice settle in villages, they may come to feel disappointed. The monthly expenses will probably come to Rs. 15. If you wish to send Surendrarai, write either to me or to the Manager so that we may arrange about his board and lodging before asking him to come over. At present the Ashram is pretty full and it may, therefore, take some time before he can be admitted.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12186

585. LETTER TO DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 28, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter. The deputation certainly did its part well and it now remains for us here to continue the good work done by you and your colleagues.

Yes, without Mr. Andrews' incessant work and undying faith nothing could have been done. At the present moment I am doing little more than watching and keeping in touch with all that is going on here and in South Africa.

My son wrote to me saying that he had the privilege of meeting you and he expressed his sorrow that you were unable to visit the settlement[1] at Phoenix.

Yours sincerely,

SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY
20, SURI LANE,
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 11958 (a)

[1] Founded by Gandhiji in South Africa in 1904. *Vide* Vol. IV, p. 489.

586. LETTER TO SYED RAZA ALI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 28, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I write this to thank you for the letter that you wrote to me from South Africa enclosing a copy of the Memorandum of your evidence. I congratulate you and your deputation upon the success that attained your efforts.

Without mentioning your name I made use of your tribute to Mr. Paddison in my weekly notes in *Young India*.[1]

I hope you enjoyed your South African visit.

Yours sincerely,

HON. SYED RAZA ALI
AT INVERARM
SIMLA

From a microfilm: S.N. 11959

587. LETTER TO DR. NORMAN LEYS

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 28, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 26th ultimo forwarded through Mr. Vaze.[2] I thank you for that letter. I appreciate it for I know that it is only by a frank exchange of views that we come nearer one another. For me the word 'political' is inclusive. I do not divide different activities—political, social, religious, economical—into water-tight compartments. I look upon them all as one indivisible whole each running into the rest and affected by the rest. I also believe with you that our political freedom properly so called will depend upon our ability to solve many of our domestic problems such as the communal trouble. In other words, it will depend upon internal reforms. The outward will be merely therefore a symptom of the inward. I do not at all hold that this communal

[1] *Vide* "Notes", 29-4-1926, sub-title, "The Good Samaritan".

[2] *Vide* "Letter to S. G. Vaze", 23-5-1926.

problem is insoluble. It seems to defy human effort for the time being. But I have the fullest faith in our ability finally to solve it. It may be of course that before we reach a solution there will be bloody fights between the two. In spite of all effort sometimes they become as it were unavoidable.

I would however like to add a word of caution against thinking, if you did think, that these communal troubles are not due to our dependence upon the British rule. It is my conviction that that rule is based upon the policy of 'divide and rule' which policy sometimes English officials have been frank enough to admit. If the Government chose, it can certainly contribute much to a speedy and permanent solution. But if I mention this I do so not to excuse ourselves for our inability to solve the problem without the help of the rulers, but I mention it to explain our difficulty.

Your second point is too difficult for me to pronounce an opinion upon. I am not an attentive student of European politics or European history to be able to draw the distinction that you do between the European States where Roman Catholicism is predominant and where Protestantism is predominant. And, for the reason I would prefer to hold silence upon the third point which is equally interesting as the second. There is no doubt that mankind is affected largely by the way it looks upon God. So far as India is concerned the vast majority think of God as the Monitor within each one of us. Even the illiterate masses know that God is only one, that He is all-pervading, and, therefore, is the witness of all our actions.

If you wish to elucidate further the two points of your letter which at present I understand but partially and if you can find time, I shall read your elucidation with all the attention I am able to give to it. And I know that I shall profit by it.

Yours sincerely,

DR. NORMAN LEYS
BRAILSFORD
NEAR DERBY
ENGLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 12468

588. LETTER TO S. ARUNACHALAM

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 28, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is good that you are sending a small contribution to the All-India Spinners' Association. Since you are so weak there is certainly no occasion for you to spin.

The rules of the Satyagraha Ashram are published as appendix to Mr. Natesan's book of my speeches and writings.[1] A new edition will be prepared shortly.

I think that unless you are a man of invincible faith in God and his healing mercy, you should not hesitate to receive the advice of physicians or take mild treatment.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. ARUNACHALAM
951, WEAVER STREET
ALANTHUR, ST. THOMAS MOUNT
MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 19576

589. LETTER TO DR. MANEKBAI BAHADURJI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 28, 1926

I was pleased to receive your letter. I shall ask the Khadi Pratishthan to send you a charkha like mine. Where do you want it sent, Panchgani or Bombay? I shall write to the Pratishthan after hearing from you. And if you are in a hurry you will write yourself. The address of the Khadi Pratishthan is 170, Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta.

When you mention the fruit that will grow in your ground at Panchgani you make my mouth water. Of course during this visit of mine I was not able to contemplate all the beautiful views around Mahabaleshwar and Panchgani. That one can see only when one has leisure.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 91-8.

With love to you all,

Yours,

DR. MRS. BAHADURJI
OMRA HALL
PANCHGANI

From a microfilm: S.N. 19577

590. LETTER TO G. R. S. RAO

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 28, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

This is my message for your paper:

"I hope that this paper stands for the Spinning Wheel and all the two things[1] imply."

As the exchange list of *Young India* has grown out of all proportion and as it has only a limited circulation nowadays, it is difficult to send you *Young India* in exchange for your paper. Will you not secure a copy of *Young India* from some friends in Bangalore so that I may be saved so much expense.

You need not send your paper if only because the editing of *Young India* does not depend upon exchanges, for it is hardly a newspaper.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. R. S. RAO
EDITOR IN CHIEF
"PRAJA MITRA"
KAMALA VILAS
COTTONPET
BANGALORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 19578

[1] "Two things" stand for *Praja Mitra* ('friend of the people') and the Spinning Wheel (also 'friend of the people').

I am sorry to hear that your sister has become widowed. Do please convey my sympathies to her. I am carefully going through all the cuttings that Guruji sends me. Some of them are valuable. I had never seen "Muhamed's treaty" before. I knew that his successors had entered into a treaty of that character with the Christians and the Jews.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 19579

592. LETTER TO SARDUL SINGH CAVEESAR

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 29, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have a small sum (Rs. 51) lying with me for some time for the Akalis. Will you please make what use you like for helping some deserving Akali?

Yours sincerely,

SIRDAR SARDUL SINGH CAVEESAR
LODGE LIBERTY
RAMGALI
LAHORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 19582

593. LETTER TO D. V. RAMA RAO

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 29, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I think that you should try to persuade your parents to let you go to Shantiniketan. But till you have obtained their permission it will be better for you to remain where you are and retain your peace. There should be satisfaction in your agreeing to the wishes of your parents however unpleasant that may be. Disobedience of parents' wishes is justified when obedience will be a moral breach. The same thing applies to swimming. You should reason with your parents and get their permission to learn swimming. If they supervised your swimming probably they would not be afraid.

It is necessary to declare one's deceptions to those whom one has deceived. It is a cleansing process. The shock received by the parents by confession would be a momentary one. The reason for confession of sin is precisely the reason that requires us to rub and clean a dirty surface. What scrubbing and washing is for removing dirt on a material body, confession is for removing dirt on the spiritual plane.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. D. V. RAMA RAO
DIGAMARTI HOUSE
BERHAMPORE
GANJAM DT.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19580

594. *LETTER TO KRISHNADAS*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 29, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNADAS,

I have now carefully read your long letter. According to the facts stated by you, father cannot be held blamed in any shape or form. Do you want me to write to Hardayal Babu anything about this unfortunate matter? If you do, I shall gladly write to him.

It appears to me now that the Finland invitation will be cancelled. I have suggested so to Mr. K. T. Paul because of his own difficulties.[1] I shall hear from him next week.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KRISHNADAS
C/o S. C. GUHA
DARBHANGA

From a photostat: S.N. 19581

[1] *Vide* "Letter to K. T. Paul", 23-5-1926.

595. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 24, 1926

I am so delighted that you are in "excellent health". Shankerlal must have written to you. But, in any case, I expect you to report yourself at the Ashram on the 15th June. Whilst you are touring certainly leave Lakshmi here.

Chhotalal is just now travelling here, there and everywhere. He has got the blues. He went to Khadi Pratishthan and passed a few days with Satis Babu. He is now in Wardha. I suggested that he should stay with you for some months and help you in your work. He was not inclined to do so because he said he would gladly render personal service if you need it but otherwise he did not know that he will feel comfortable. Now, however, he writes asking me if you will have him. He still harps on personal services. But whatever he does, whether he helps you in the khadi work or whether he becomes your cook, waiter and sanitary attendant or whether he weaves your khadi, I suggest your having him on his terms. And if you find him moody you may ask me to withdraw him. If he wishes to tour with you let him do that. But you know him best. Are you prepared to have him? Or will you rather discuss the thing when you are here?

Your curse on the Finland visit is likely to bear fruit; for, a letter I have written to K. T. Paul seems to have put him in a fix. I have told him that he must look upon this proposed visit with complete detachment.[1] But it appears to me that he has prompted the invitation and that the World Committee of the Y.M.C.A. is a passive instrument in his hands. However, I shall know my fate inside of a week now.

We are boiling here at the present moment but I hope you will send us rain before you come.

Yours,

From a photostat: S.N. 19586

[1] *Vide* "Letter to K. T. Paul", 23-5-1926.

596. *DRAFT HOUSING SCHEME FOR MILL-WORKERS*[1]

The additional sums that may be received, if the demand for increase in wages is conceded, should be utilized for one year to implement a housing scheme for workers. Under this scheme, it is intended to build houses for workers, which would meet the health requirements of the workers and provide them necessary amenities and yet not be beyond the means of the ordinary working man.

In every locality with houses built under this scheme, every provision will be made to meet the common needs of the workers living there and provide them other facilities. These will include, funds permitting, schools, gardens, halls with facilities for playing games, libraries, shops and dispensaries.

A committee consisting of representatives of the Labour Union and the Millowners' Association—the former being in a majority—will implement this scheme in accordance with the conditions of the Trust, will look after the properties and manage the fund. The management of the properties will be with the Labour Union. All workers employed in the mills during the current year and entitled to an increase in their wages will be regarded as joint owners of the funds of the Trust and the property purchased with that money. The share of each worker in the property will be in proportion to his contribution to the fund. Each such worker who is a joint owner of the property will be given a share certificate. Shareholders will not be permitted to sell or mortgage their shares to any person or body other than the Trust except in accordance with the conditions to be laid down by the Trust. Houses will be allotted to workers on the results of lots drawn for the purpose. The claims of shareholders will receive priority. The decision to implement this scheme will be taken after obtaining in writing the votes of workers in every department and ascertaining whether there is a two-thirds majority in favour of it.

If it is decided to utilize the increased quantum of wages in this manner, no demand for a further increase in wages will be made for a period of one year thereafter, and if, in violation of this

[1] The scheme was formulated to suggest the right manner of utilizing the additional wages which the workers of Ahmedabad might get if the 15 per cent cut effected in 1923 was restored. Only the chief clauses of the scheme were reproduced in the source.

condition, any workers go on strike for increase in wages, such workers will not be entitled to take benefit of this scheme for a period to be decided by the Trustees.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 30-5-1926

597. NOTES

Pragji Desai

Shri Pragji Khandubhai Desai, who was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for his articles in *Navayuga*, was released from Sabarmati Jail on the 22nd of this month. Though in the beginning he was much harassed by the authorities, he passed the later part of his term, specially after he had been transferred to Karachi, in great peace and comfort, with the result that he is now in excellent health. While in jail, he also got plenty of time to read and think quietly. At present, he has gone to Surat to meet his wife, and also Shri Kalyanji and other co-workers to consult them on what work he should take up now.

Request from East Africa

A young man from Nairobi writes:[1]

I congratulate this team of young men. If their monthly is being started for the sole purpose of public service, I wish it all success. I welcome his remark about people who wear khadi. The correspondent understands my love for khadi, but not the reasoning which inspires this love. I, therefore, welcome this opportunity to explain that reasoning. He may be surprised to learn that I do not recommend khadi for improving the conditions of Indians in East Africa; even if I did, out of blind attachment for khadi, I would have to use the word 'khadi' in an absolutely different and a much wider sense. But I have no such attachment and, therefore, I can safely say that khadi is almost useless in fighting the hardships of our people in East Africa. I would not advise people living near the North Pole to use the spinning-wheel. If our countrymen in East Africa occasionally used khadi, that would certainly be a good thing, for they would show thereby their appreciation of the circumstances in India. But there is

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had requested Gandhiji for a message for a monthly which the association of Indian youths there wished to start.

no doubt that, for improving their own lot, what they need to do is to become united. That would be only the first step; and it would not be enough. Indians there are accused of being dirty, and there is a good measure of truth in the charge. They must give up their dirty habits. There is some truth in the other charge too, that they are miserly. Miserliness here means excessive economy in our way of living. In a foreign country we cannot afford to have the same room to serve us as a shop, as living room and as kitchen. There we earn more and it is necessary, therefore, to adopt a higher standard of living. If we do not, we may be justly charged with unfair competition. The other tradesmen will certainly not like one who, in disregard of accepted business standards, lives in extreme want and brings down the market prices. We should not give any such cause for complaint and jealousy.

The Indians in East Africa should also take suitable measures to spread education in their midst. It is beyond doubt that, if their children grow up without education, they would not be able to compete with the British population there. If, moreover, there is any truth in what I have heard, that the Indians in East Africa, instead of emulating the virtues of the British, have freely taken to their vices, such as drinking and immorality, they would do well to keep aloof from these. Finally, in order to live there with self-respect they should cultivate strength for satyagraha, that is, for the utmost suffering in the cause of public welfare. Provided they do this, they would deserve little blame for not wearing khadi. Without wearing khadi, they will have done their duty of preserving their self-respect.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 30-5-1926

598. NON-CO-OPERATION AND EDUCATION[1]

A reader of *Navajivan* writes as follows:[2]

Personally, I have not become lukewarm in the slightest degree about any aspect of non-co-operation. My views about

[1] *Vide* also "National Education", 3-6-1926.

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had asked Gandhiji what truth there was in the general impression that he had become less rigid in his views about non-co-operation in the field of education, and whether, in view of the slackening of public interest in national education, it would not be wise to give up the policy of non-co-operation in this field and

education remain what they were in 1920-21, and could I but persuade the students or their guardians, not a single student would remain in the Government schools. If I do not discuss this matter in the *Navajivan* as frequently as I used to do, it is because the time is past for delivering speeches or writing articles in order to get the schools vacated. What we have to do now is to strengthen the schools which have held on unflinchingly to the principles of non-co-operation. It pains me to have to admit that, unlike the khadi movement, that of national education is not showing progress. Indeed, as far as the number of schools and that of students are concerned, the movement is on the ebb. I do not hesitate to comment on this fact when the occasion demands, but I see no need to do that every day. The fact of the ebb does not make me lose heart about the future. If we do not give up faith, this ebb is bound to be followed by a full tide. I am quite confident that, if the schools which have held fast to non-co-operation continue to do so sincerely and do not compromise in regard to any of the basic principles of non-co-operation, the results will be good. I know that the Proprietary High School is in serious difficulty. Some of the teachers and a good many students have left it. But why should that matter? We have to carry on the work of non-co-operation neither in a spirit of impulsive imitation nor as a "policy" or useful expedient. Those who have remained faithful to non-co-operation rely on their own strength and have confidence in themselves. Quite possibly they may yet have to pass through trying times. If they have to, I hope that like gold which, when heated, shines brighter still, the non-co-operators will come out brighter from the test. Those alone will be true non-co-operators who hold out till the end. Whether there is only one such non-co-operator or there are many, it is he or they who will win swaraj for the country. What Sardar Sardul Singh said recently in a speech in the Punjab is true. There can be no co-operation between a tiger and a lamb. There can be real co-operation only between equals. In the existing circumstances, to describe any association between the Government and the people as co-operation is a misuse of the word "co-operation". When we are strong enough to get our terms accepted, co-operation will follow as a matter of course and that will be real co-operation.

make the best use of the academic talent in Gujarat by co-operating with the Government in the new university which it proposed to establish.

But the fact that misunderstandings about non-co-operation continue to prevail indicates that we still do not know the real nature of the movement. Our non-co-operation is not satanic or violent, uncivil or malicious. In peaceful non-co-operation, there is no room for contempt for anyone. Non-co-operation will in no way be discredited if Shri Anandashanker's[1] knowledge and ability are utilized for the benefit of the Vidyapith. We have not co-operated with the Government in any way by making him Chairman of the Commission for the Vidyapith. On the contrary, the latter has not only honoured itself by inviting him to be the Chairman, but has demonstrated the true nature of non-co-operation, for non-violent non-co-operation bears no ill-will towards individuals. We may certainly take advantage of the virtue even of a Viceroy as a human being, provided that in doing so we do not avail ourselves of his official position; if we refuse to take such advantage, we would show ourselves stupid non-co-operators.

In running an institution like the Vidyapith, we are not wasting public money but are putting it to quite good use. We are not here looking at the matter from the point of view of those who look upon non-co-operation as sin. Those who contributed money for the Vidyapith believe in the principles of non-co-operation. Their money is not wasted if it is used for carrying on this great experiment in the field of education; it is true, of course, that as the numbers diminish, the organizers, the teachers and the students should show correspondingly greater strength of character. Only then will public money have been well used. If the university to be established by the Government draws away our teachers, I would conclude that they did not have sincere faith in non-co-operation. The establishment of that university should have the effect of increasing our devotion to duty. It may well be attractive from the point of view of money and prestige, but I know it will not lead us to swaraj. Here, on the other hand, the teachers may have to put up with poverty and ridicule, but I cannot give up my faith that through it we are advancing step by step towards our goal of swaraj.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 30-5-1926

[1] A. B. Dhruva, Pro-Vice-Chancellor of Benares Hindu University

599. THE SPINNING-WHEEL IN GUJARAT

The reader will find elsewhere in this issue some information collected by Shri Lakshmidas concerning the progress of spinning in Gujarat. We can see from it that even in big cities like Ahmedabad and Nadiad spinning has been adopted only by a few isolated individuals. We must admit that it has a very limited field, but we can see that for those women who do spinning it is the only work they can take up. No effort is made to induce a woman to take up spinning if she can earn more through some other work. The spinning-wheel has a place in our life which nothing else can fill. It has been conceived only for those people who have no other honest means of livelihood, but in a vast and thickly populated country like India spinning is the only work which crores can take up. If people can be found to ply it for money even in cities like Ahmedabad and Nadiad, we can easily imagine how useful it can prove in the villages. If we do not hear the sweet music of this *annapurna*, the spinning-wheel, in the homes of the poor, it is for lack of sufficient number of dedicated, self-sacrificing and intelligent workers.

There is, of course, the other equally strong reason for this state of affairs, namely, that very little khadi is used in Gujarat. It will come to be universally used, like wheat and ghee, and all the khadi produced will be sold out, when national consciousness has fully developed in us. We have not yet entered the homes of the poor in Gujarat, have not qualified ourselves nor do we feel the desire to do so. When we really feel a new life in us, large numbers of young men will come forward to go into villages and serve the people, and they will take pride in living on the modest return they will get from such service.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 30-5-1926

600. LETTER TO S. G. VAZE

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 30, 1926

MY DEAR VAZE,

I have your circular letter about the Society's publications. I have just heard that Sastri is there. But as the matter contained in my letter to him is urgent lest he might not be there I send you herewith a copy. And if my offer is at all considered possible of acceptance you will be at liberty yourself to come and take up your abode in the Ashram and bring with you as many as you like and edit the paper from the Ashram till the press is re-established in Poona.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 10912

601. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 30, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

As I did not know your whereabouts, being still unrepentant in spite of your rebuke about my neglect of newspaper reading, I wrote to Devadhar expressing my distress over the terrible fire which has reduced to ashes the press owned by the Society. I have therein offered to render such service as I am capable of in connection with your publications. I have now before me a circular letter from Vaze asking me to announce the fact that, till new arrangements are made, *The Servant of India* and the *Dnyan Prakash* cannot be published.

I understand you are already in Poona. Though I have not consulted Swami, I feel certain that we could print for you *The Servant of India* here without much difficulty. Do please make use of this humble offer if it is practicable. Its acceptance, I need hardly assure you, will give me the greatest pleasure. For, though technically I am not one of you, I have ever regarded myself as one of you in spirit and that in spite of fundamental

differences between you and myself on many matters of importance to the country.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 10913

602. LETTER TO K. T. PAUL[1]

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 30, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Mr. Andrews has been with me for the last three days. He has read the whole of the correspondence between us and we have both come to the conclusion that the invitation should be finally accepted which I do hereby though not without a great deal of hesitation and reluctance. The hesitation and reluctance proceed from my diffidence. I did not know that it is worth while undergoing all the expense of taking me and my companions to Finland. But it is not given to man to know God's purpose. And I simply derive satisfaction from the knowledge that I have in no way forced the pace or even wanted to go to Finland. You will now make what arrangements you like.

I see you will be taking return passages, and you contemplate the same between London and Helsingfors. I must, however, say that if I receive invitations to go to other places in Europe, I want to hold myself free to accept them. In that event, it might not be advisable to take a return passage from London to Helsingfors. I am bound in any case to go to Geneva to see M. Romain Rolland. My return therefore may not be absolutely by the same route in Europe.

So far as the passport is concerned you will please bear this in mind and not accept any conditions as to the time or places I might visit.

You will keep me informed from time to time as to what progress you are making. Of course, I should be delighted if you could, instead of going by the 15th June, go with me by the boat that leaves on the 1st of July.

[1] This letter was dictated at 3 p.m. but not sent. According to the secretary's note, Gandhiji "revised his decision after praying in solitude". For Gandhiji's final reply, *vide* "Telegram to K. T. Paul", 31-5-1926.

I do not think that there can be any difficulty about procuring goat's milk in Europe. Moreover it can be condensed, evaporated or sterilized. Evaporated milk is undoubtedly the best to keep. It is absolutely reduced to powder.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 11352

603. LETTER TO K. T. PAUL[1]

May 30, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Mr. Andrews has been here for the last three days. He also has read your letter and the rest of the correspondence between us. After deep and prayerful consideration we have both come to the conclusion that the invitation should be cancelled or that I should decide not to go to Finland. It seems to me that the invitation is in substance from you and from the World's Committee only in form. And yet if I went, I will be said to be going in response not to your invitation but to that of the World Committee. I feel that it would be a wrong thing for both you *and* me or at any rate for me. I feel that if it is the World Committee that invites me then, it is that Committee which should bear the financial burden. Whereas in this case the financial burden has to be borne by you. It therefore appears to amount to a forcing of the position. I therefore strongly advise you to forget the invitation, and drop the matter altogether. I would ask you therefore to treat this matter as closed unless you find that by my not going you will be in any way compromised or embarrassed. If you are in any way embarrassed or compromised I shall gladly reconsider the position. But if it has to be reconsidered and if it is possible for you to move out will it not be better for you to come down to the Ashram so that we might thrash out the whole matter.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 11353

[1] This letter, dictated at 4 p.m., bears the entry, "Not sent/held over."

604. LETTER TO A. A. PAUL

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 30, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter enclosing copy of a letter from China. I think I have already told you that if no local circumstances prevent me, I would be prepared to visit China next year in accordance with the desire of the Chinese friends.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 11372

605. LETTER TO A. I. KAJEE

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 30, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 24th April last with all the enclosures mentioned therein. I have also your cable just received. I have had long talks with Mr. Andrews who is, even as I am writing this here at the Ashram, living with me. The victory is great but much work still remains to be done, in fact more than has been done already, because, the work hitherto done was one of necessary destruction; the work of construction must now begin.

You have raised three points in your cable. So far as I can see there will be no direct participation by the Congress in the Round Table Conference. But the Congress must have a hearing. The Conference itself, I imagine, will be between the representatives of the two Governments. But Mr. Andrews and others are watching carefully and whatever can be done will certainly be done. If any step has to be taken on your side, you will be duly advised.

It is a very good idea to hold the annual Congress in Johannesburg. Your resolutions must concentrate on fundamental points to be dealt with by the Conference and should be plain. Your resolutions should be moderate, firm, brief, telling and to the point.

After the Colour Bar Bill I have expressed myself in the strongest terms. All parties have also taken action. Mr. Andrews has seen the Viceroy but I very much fear that the Bill itself will

receive the Royal assent. What will happen is that at least for the time being it will not be applied to Indian settlers and may never be applied at any time if we are strong, united and moderate.

Yours sincerely,

A. I. KAJEE, ESQ.
HON. GENERAL SECRETARY
SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS
175, GREY STREET
DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA

From a microfilm: S.N. 11960

606. LETTER TO MAHADEO V. PANDLORKAR

May 30, 1926

So far as I know *Jiwatma* is to *Paramatma* what a drop is to the ocean. And even as the properties of a drop are identical with those of the ocean, the properties of *Jiwatma* are identical with those of *Paramatma*.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 19584

607. LETTER TO C. LAKSHMI NARASIMHAN

[*May 30, 1926*][1]

In my opinion eggs cannot be classed as a vegetarian diet. But there is certainly not the same *himsa* in taking eggs as in taking meat.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 19585

[1] The date is noted on the letter (S.N. 19585) dated 9-5-1926 from the addressee.

608. LETTER TO V. M. TARKUNDE

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 30, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I quite agree with you there would be always parties so long as there are differences in viewpoints and I also agree with you that [there should be] no jealousies and no mutual recrimination but that each should tolerate the rest.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. V. M. TARKUNDE
SASVAD
POONA DT.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19583

609. LETTER TO TEHMINA KHAMBHATTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, [May 30, 1926][1]

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. You are making too much of my having climbed three flights of stairs to see you. If we do not do this for one another, we might as well have not lived. I should very much like to bring peace of mind to Behramji, if any words of mine can give it. Happiness and suffering are inescapable in this life. We prove our humanity only by enduring our lot in patience. I shall certainly write and give my opinion after I have read Mrs. Eddy's book. But I strongly urge Behramji not to stop using needful medicines meanwhile.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 4364. Courtesy: Tehmina Khambhatta

[1] Date inferred from the reference to Mrs. Eddy's book and to the illness of the addressee's husband. *Vide* "Letter to Behramji Khambhatta", 23-5-1926.

610. LETTER TO HARILAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, May 30, 1926

BHAI HARILAL,

It is certainly not possible to reply to your letter through *Navajivan*. I am sure that the educational and other reforms which you advocate will not come about at the present time. All of them may be indications of an attitude of tolerance, but they cannot create such an attitude. At present it will be more than enough if though going our separate ways, we live in peace with each other. I cannot think just now how inter-marriages will ever become possible. How can we have a family in which one member is a vegetarian and another a non-vegetarian? In which tradition will the children of such a couple be brought up? Problem alliances of this kind will raise many other issues besides these. Any attempt at this time to persuade people to act upon your suggestions will furnish one more ground for opposition or make the achievement of political unity impossible. How unwise it is to imagine a connection between political unity and other issues where none exists!

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19588

611. TELEGRAM TO K. T. PAUL

May 31, 1926

PAUL
THOTTAM
SALEM

YOUR LETTER MAKES CLEAR INVITATION THOUGH FORMALLY FROM COMMITTEE REALLY FROM YOU. THINK IT WRONG LET WORLD KNOW INVITATION FROM COMMITTEE. STRONGLY SUGGEST DROPPING VISIT. AM PREPARED RECONSIDER DECISION IF LIKELY EMBARRASS OR COMPROMISE YOU. IF RECONSIDERATION DESIRED SUGGEST YOUR COMING SABARMATI IF AT ALL POSSIBLE FOR FULL DISCUSSION.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 11354

612. LETTER TO WILHELM WARTENBERG

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 31, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I fully appreciate your struggle. But I have no doubt that if the humiliations you may be suffering purify you, they may to that extent and only to that extent benefit your fellows. My non-resistance is activitized resistance in a different plane. Non-resistance to evil does not mean absence of any resistance whatsoever but it means not resisting[1] evil with evil but with good. Resistance, therefore, is transferred to a higher and absolutely effective plane.

Capitalism, therefore, is to be resisted not with the ways open[2] to capitalism but with absolutely new weapons. If only employees will realize the power within them, they will not, as they do today, merely change the form but they will radically change the substance. And for this desirable reform the power comes from within. One does not need to wait till the rest have made the commencement. One person making the beginning will in the end be enough to destroy the system. But I am free to confess that in the intervening period, one may have to put up with estrangement and much worse, which, however, is the lot of almost every reformer.

Yours sincerely,

WILHELM WARTENBERG, ESQ.
HAMBURG 23
BITTERSTR 134 II
GERMANY

From a photostat: S.N. 12471

[1] The source has "resistance".
[2] The source has "opened".

613. LETTER TO DINSHA MANCHERJI MUNSHI

ASHRAM,
June 1, 1926

BHAISHRI MUNSHI,

It is not as easy as you suppose to come across a right guru[1]. I am on the look out for such a perfect being. I would not find him without undertaking rigorous penance and without myself getting nearer to perfection. A person in search of a guru is vigilant and in the process acquires merit. So I go along unperturbed. It is by God's grace that one is blessed with a guru. Therefore, I shall get a guru at the time and place that I come to deserve one. In the meanwhile I always pay my obeisance to the guru I am yet to see.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19913

614. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL A. GANDHI

ASHRAM,
June 1, 1926

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I have your letter. It reached me late because Krishnalal is ill. Noted about the weaving school. Where do you propose to start it? How much will it cost? I shall think about a programme for the next year. In connection with the temple do you presume that the *Antyajas* can never refuse to serve Brahmins or the [other] higher castes, i.e., cannot go on a strike? In the present case you gave them the right advice. They have not yet acquired the strength to strike work; they are not yet pure enough to offer satyagraha. But, may be, some day they will have to do it. Please keep in touch with the temple and take interest in its progress.

What happened to Umiya[2]? Where is she? It looks as if Devdas and his companion Lalji would go only to Mussoorie.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19914

[1] Preceptor

[2] Addressee's daughter

615. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 2, 1926

DEAR MR. JAYAKAR,

I have your letter[1]. I am disinclined even to write as much as I have about the Pact[2]. You won't find me writing or doing anything further. I have no desire whatsoever to intervene except to bring about peace. The whole of this quarrel is so painful to me.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 11317

616. LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 2, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[3] and wire. I have now discovered the "Nortan Conversation". Devdas not being here there was some delay. I am now sending it by registered post.

I am also asking the manager, *Young India* Office, to do the needful. Back numbers are difficult to supply. Because of the

[1] Dated 28-5-1926, wherein he wrote: ". . . What makes me write this letter to you is a remark which you are reported to have made in your interview, asking people to support the Congress candidates, presumably as against their rivals. This, you will allow me to say, is unjust and unfair to many Responsivists. You know that we Responsivists have been all along Congressmen. . . . Any words proceeding from your lips, calculated to influence the voter, are likely to cause grave harm and deflect the natural course of the next elections.

". . . If the two wings in the Congress must fight, as seems to be inevitable . . . let us decide to make that fight as clean and decent as we can. . Don't you think that, from this point of view, any remarks of yours of the nature reported in today's papers, and calculated to influence the opinion of the voter, are undesirable? . . . If you must step into the contest at all, please do so only as a peacemaker and not as a partisan. . . . " (S.N. 11314)

[2] The Sabarmati Pact between the Swarajists and the Responsive Co-operationists; *vide* Appendix II.

[3] Dated 11-5-1926

autobiography they are almost exhausted but I am having the first part published in book-form. If, therefore, back numbers are missing, I am afraid you will have to wait for some time. I don't know what the real position is at the press.

The Pact[1] and the dissolution are things of the past. Let the dead past bury itself. In any event, I do not worry myself about it.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR
FAIRY FALLS VIEW
KODAIKANAL OBSERVATORY

From a photostat: S.N. 12051

617. LETTER TO NAJUKLAL N. CHOKSI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, June 2, 1926

BHAISHRI NAJUKLAL,

I have your letter. As soon as I came out after my bath I learnt that you had come and gone. You did well in not waiting for long. I am glad that Moti likes to stay with you only and neither this place nor any other would suit her. But that is only on one condition, namely, since Moti has ceased to be Moti and become Sukanya, she should become industrious and write letters like pearls. She has already consented to do this. Have you again started on a course of injections? You should completely recoup your health; that is my constant prayer.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12128

[1] *Vide* Appendix II.

618. ALL-INDIA COW-PROTECTION ASSOCIATION

The Secretary acknowledges further receipt of yarn as under:

MEMBERS' SUBSCRIPTIONS[1]

Nos. 4, 6, 8, 9, 32 and 33 have advanced their totals to 22,000, 24,000, 12,400, 11,000, 24,000 and 24,000 yards respectively.

DONATIONS[2]

Cash subscriptions and donations amount to Rs. 6,100-15-0 whereas proceeds of the sale of yarn subscriptions and donations amount to Rs. 26-6-6. Those who send in hand-spun yarn as their donations will please note that if they will put more attention and skill into their work for the same amount of labour spent they will perhaps double the value of their subscriptions. The yarn received is very indifferently spun. Some of it is really not capable of bearing any price in the market because it cannot be woven into khadi. It can only be used for ropes or at best for carpets. And yarn so indifferently spun fetches only a nominal price. Therefore those who have been sending their donations or subscriptions in yarn for the All-India Cow-Protection Association will please bear in mind that any indifference in spinning means so much less for the cow.

Young India, 3-6-1926

619. THE BAR SINISTER

Lord Birkenhead has spoken on the Colour Bar Bill of South Africa and he has blessed it. I hold to my opinion that as a piece of racial legislation it is worse than the Class Areas Reservation Bill which awaits discussion at the forthcoming Conference. It may not be put into operation against Asiatics for the time being or at all. It may not be enforced harshly against the Native population. But the objection against that measure is based upon a fundamental principle and upon the vast possibilities of mischief it contains. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Indian settlers are agitated and that Mr. Andrews has spoken strongly upon it. The settlers must continue their agitation against the Bill with vigour and

1 & 2 not reproduced here

prepare their case for presentation to the Conference. No presentation can avoid reference to the Colour Bar Bill. For the one reflects the policy of the other. The Colour Bar Bill is an indication of the designs of the Union Government in respect of Natives and Indian settlers. And the Class Areas Reservation Bill must be examined in the light of the Government policy on the Colour Bar Bill. The postponement of the former does not mean any change of policy. It may well mean only postponement of the agony. It is therefore necessary for all who are interested in this thorny question not to relax vigilance. What has been done hitherto was work of destruction. The more difficult work of construction has now begun. Much will depend upon the attitude of the Government of India. They control the situation if the settlers are weak. When the latter are strong they can mould their own destiny.

But I am sorry to note that the Hon. Syed Raza Ali considers that there should be no protest in India against the Colour Bar Bill. Though he commences his statement by saying that it is not a legislative measure against Indians, 'he is forced to admit that the Union Government will under the Bill have the power to extend such prohibition to our people if it deems it necessary'. Why is he then surprised at Mr. Andrews' opposition? The Syed Saheb should also know that the Indian settlers in South Africa are much agitated over the Bill. In a cable just received, the Secretary of the South African Indian Congress says: 'Trust strong action taken by you on Colour Bar Bill which has not yet received the Royal assent.' Mr. Andrews is bound to object to this inhuman legislation which is principally aimed at Natives of South Africa, if he may be expected to raise his voice on behalf of us Indians. He has merged himself in us as a citizen of the world, not for any special virtues of our own. But the reason for his intervention is not the point at issue. The point at issue raised by the Syed Saheb is whether we here should oppose the Bill or not. Well, we have always opposed it. The settlers have always opposed it. And there is no burden on us, now that the Conference is agreed upon, not to oppose the Bill. There was—could be—no tacit understanding not to oppose it. We may distinguish as we have distinguished between the two measures. The Colour Bar Bill is not so deadly in its *effect* against us as the Class Areas Reservation Bill. And therefore it was that greater stress was put upon the latter by the Indian deputation and the public. But the opposition to the former cannot be abated because the latter has been postponed.

Nor are the honesty and good intentions of General Hertzog relevant to the discussion. General Hertzog is not the autocrat of

South Africa. He is no permanent head. He may find himself tomorrow in the same place[1] that General Smuts occupies today. It is only the written undertaking of the Government that can be taken into account, though we have found to our cost that even written undertakings may be thrown on the scrap-heap when occasion requires the performance. The coming Conference cannot be endangered because we oppose a measure which it is our duty to oppose. In order to ensure a peaceful atmosphere at the Conference all that is necessary is for us not to impute motives, not to exaggerate and not to use harsh language in discussing subjects, however painful they may be. To go beyond is to surrender the right of free and just criticism and judgment. To do so would be to pay a price out of all proportion to the result sought to be achieved.

Young India, 3-6-1926

620. NATIONAL EDUCATION[2]

A Gujarati correspondent has raised certain questions about national education. Some of them are summarized below:

> Since some of the staunchest supporters of non-co-operation have lost faith in it and since the numbers attending national institutions are dwindling, what is the use of holding on to these tottering schools and colleges and wasting good money after bad institutions?

My believing eye detects a flaw in this argument. My faith in non-co-operation remaining as staunch as ever, I can find it possible to reconcile myself to the existing national institutions even though the attendance may be reduced to half a dozen. For the half a dozen will be the makers of swaraj whenever it comes. When virgins are required to perform certain sacred ceremonies, others are not accepted as substitute if no virgin is found. And even one virgin if found is enough to save the situation. So will it be with the planting of the swaraj flag-post. The flags will be unfurled with the unsullied hands of those, be they ever so few, who have remained true to their original creed.

I do not therefore regard it as waste of money to continue the national institutions. They are so many oases in the desert.

[1] Among the opposition

[2] *Vide* also "Non-co-operation and Education", 30-5-1926.

They give the water of life to the souls thirsting for freedom. In writing this I cast no reflection upon those who attend or otherwise support Government schools. They are entitled to hold the view if they choose that theirs is the only way or also a way to freedom. National institutions are meant for those whose thirst for freedom is not satisfied by the ones managed or patronized by the Government. Few as they are, insignificant though they may appear, they supply a felt want and contain in them the seeds, as it appears to non-co-operators, of true and lasting freedom.

The final success of these institutions depends upon the worth of the teachers. "But they are deserting the national schools and colleges," says the critic. So some of them are. It tries the faith of the survivors. Have they the courage to stand alone? Are there enough monied men to support the surviving national institutions? On the correct answer to these questions depends the future of the national institutions and with them the freedom of the country, and so far as I can judge, there are teachers enough to stand the severest test and there are monied men enough to support them. I know no organization that has died for want of funds. Organizations die always for want of men, i.e., honesty, efficiency and self-sacrifice. And it is my certain knowledge that where there are teachers, pupils are not wanting.

But the pupils have perhaps the largest share of responsibility on their shoulders. The future depends upon their ability, integrity, application, and patriotism. The teachers cannot give what the pupils have not. The teachers can help to 'draw out' in the pupils what they have. If it were otherwise, if the teachers were capable of putting something into their pupils, all the latter receiving instruction under them will be alike, whereas we know as a matter of fact that no two pupils have been yet known to be alike. The pupils must therefore have initiative. They must cease to be mere imitators. They must learn to think and act for themselves and yet be thoroughly obedient and disciplined. The highest form of freedom carries with it the greatest measure of discipline and humility. Freedom that comes from discipline and humility cannot be denied; unbridled licence is a sign of vulgarity injurious alike to self and one's neighbours.

Young India, 3-6-1926

621. NOTES

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S LOSS

I have received the following[1] from the Servants of India Society for publication:

I have not the slightest doubt that not only will the subscribers excuse the unavoidable interruption in the publication of the two journals, but that the Society will have the fullest sympathy of the subscribers and numerous other friends like myself in the great loss that the Society, or rather the public, have suffered by the destruction of the two presses. I hope that the publication of the *Servant of India* and the *Dnyan Prakash* will be soon resumed.

PATRIOTISM *v.* CAPITALISM

These two "isms" are no doubt contradictory or have been so hitherto. But capital is totally different from capitalism and the capitalist from both. Capital is necessary for all enterprise. Labour itself may be described as a kind of capital. But even in the narrower sense of money, some capital, be it ever so little, is necessary even for labour's enterprise. Therefore there is no contradiction between capital and patriotism. A capitalist may or may not be patriotic. Khan Bahadur Mohiuddin Ahmed, Registrar of Co-operative Societies in Bihar, has pointed out a patriotic way to the capitalist. *The Times of India* says:

> On the occasion of the opening ceremony of the new building of the Motihari Central Co-operative Bank, the Khan Bahadur, in his speech, distinguished harmful from useful capitalism. He suggested that industrial activities should be divided into two classes, one to be taken up by the capitalists and the other to be taken up on co-operative lines for the benefit of 90 per cent of the population in India. Any industry based on agricultural produce such as cotton, sugar, oil-seeds, wheat, etc., should be on a co-operative basis so that the producers could secure the best value for their outturn. All sorts of mining and iron works, leather and other large-scale industries, which do not exploit the agriculturists, should be left to the capitalists so that they may also use their capital for more production of wealth in the country rather than for exploiting the farmers and thereby sapping the very source of wealth in India.

[1] Statement on the fire which had destroyed the two presses where the Society's journals were being printed

If the capitalists would follow the Khan Bahadur's advice and restrict the use of their capital for purposes beneficial alike to the masses as also themselves, India's poverty would soon be a thing of the past. In the Khan Bahadur's opinion:

> Jute mills, sugar mills, cotton mills are all meant to exploit the agriculturists and these exploited men are driven into the factories to work like slaves. The jute millowners of Bengal did not show the least concern for the Bengal jute-growers during the War when foreign export was closed. . . . The result of this exploitation was that the jute-growers were reduced to poverty and jute millowners realized cent per cent dividends.

Resourcefulness

The manager of the Satyagraha Ashram tells me that he has more orders than he can cope with for *taklis*. It is a healthy sign that so many people want *taklis*. But if spinning is, and it is, an art, it must evoke one's resourcefulness. It is not possible to supply millions of *taklis* in one centre. The virtue of spinning lies in its capacity to be independent of central help. The aim of the All-India Spinners' Association is to decentralize everything at the earliest possible moment. *Taklis* are being manufactured at the Ashram for those who need inducement to make the effort. But it is an instrument that can be and should be made by everyone for himself. A simple piece of dried bamboo, a piece of broken slate, a knife, a little hammer, a small file, and if possible a compass, is all that is necessary to make first class *taklis* at one pice each. A bamboo *takli* can be made inside of half an hour and gives just as good work as the steel instrument. Those who will master the art must be resourceful. Let us remember that spinning is the poor man's art. It is his solace. The tools also of that art must be within easy reach of the poorest. Let each boy and girl be therefore taught to make the *takli* himself or herself. They will take pleasure in making their own *taklis* and greater pleasure than hitherto in spinning with *taklis* made by themselves.

Good and Bad

The Vice-Chairman of the Berhampur Municipal Council says in his letter to the All-India Spinners' Association:

> Only boys' schools have been supplied with 54 charkhas. Ten *tolas* of yarn is being spun per month. Rs. 15 a month is paid to the spinning instructor. One period of 40 minutes is allotted for spinning in each school per day.

This is good in so far that the wheel has found a place in the boys' schools under the Berhampur Municipal Council. But it is

bad in that the output of yarn is too poor for the number of the wheels. A boy can easily spin half a *tola* of 10 counts per half-hour. That means 27 *tolas* per day from 54 wheels. And that would be 675 *tolas* per month of twenty-five working days. A spinning instructor who is satisfied with only 10 *tolas* per month out of 54 wheels does not deserve to draw Rs. 15 per month of national money. I hope that there is some mistake in the figures sent. For ten *tolas* per month would be too little even for one wheel. The wheels are not ornamental furniture. They are wealth-producing machines. And it is up to the keepers to see that they are not left idle. Every spinning instructor should deem it a point of honour to earn his wages by ensuring production enough to pay them. And this he can do easily when he has a large class and he does not mind himself carding and making slivers for the boys. It is the best way of interesting and instructing his pupils in the art of spinning. Let it be remembered that spinning includes carding and ginning. And carding and ginning are processes that fetch more money per day than spinning.

APRIL FIGURES

The following are the figures[1] for production and sale of khadi during the month of April:

The Andhra figures are incomplete and to some extent even the Karnatak figures. The Bombay figure includes only those of All-India Khadi Bhandar, Charkhasangh Bhandar and the Sandhurst Road Khadi Shop. I do wish that we could make the figures complete for all the provinces.

Young India, 3-6-1926

622. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU[2]

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 3, 1926

DEAR MOTILALJI,

Here is a copy of Vithalbhai's reply[3] to a copy of your letter which I sent him.

[1] Not reproduced here
[2] In reply to the addressee's letter dated 22-5-1926 (S.N. 11313)
[3] Dated 1-6-1926 (S.N. 11316)

I hope you are gaining by your stay in Mussoorie.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

PANDIT MOTILALJI NEHRU
MUSSOORIE

From a photostat: S.N. 11318

623. LETTER TO V. J. PATEL

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 3, 1926

DEAR VITHALBHAI,

I have your letter[1]. I am again sending a copy of your letter to Motilalji. I want to be quite clear as to the course to be adopted before I announce your gift in the press.

I have told Devdas that he is a free agent. I think that he will be discharged from the Hospital today and is likely to go to Mussoorie to join Jamnalalji. I suppose Simla atmosphere is too strong for him.

99 chances to one I am not going to Finland.

More later.

Yours sincerely,

HON. V. J. PATEL
SUKHDALE
SIMLA

From a photostat: S.N. 11319

624. LETTER TO URMILA DEVI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 3, 1926

MY DEAR SISTER,

You have sent me a doleful letter. I am glad however that ailing sister has passed away. She must have suffered tortures during her last months. But you shock me by the news you give me about the rest of the family. I do wish that Mr. Das will go to England and have prolonged rest. I am writing to Basanti Devi

[1] Dated 1-6-1926 (S.N. 11316)

as also to Mr. Das. What is the matter with Bhaskar? How is Bhombol getting on? May God give you the peace of mind that you need so much at this time of toil and anxiety. Do keep me informed from time to time.

99 chances to one I am not going to Finland. Perhaps you know that Devdas underwent an operation for appendicitis. He is quite all right now. Probably, he is being discharged today. He will go to Mussoorie for convalescence. Jamnalalji is staying in Mussoorie. He will join him there. How is the Hospital getting on?

SRIMATI URMILA DEVI

From a photostat: S.N. 19591

625. *LETTER TO JUSTICE P. R. DAS*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I was shocked to hear from Urmila Devi that you had very serious heart trouble. I hope however that the worst is over and that you are quite yourself again. Urmila Devi tells me you have been strongly advised to go to England and take some rest there. Whether you go to England or not, or elsewhere, I do hope you will take rest for a long time and avoid all anxiety and strain.

Yours sincerely,

JUSTICE P. R. DAS
PATNA

From a photostat: S.N. 19587

626. LETTER TO BASANTI DEVI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 3, 1926

MY DEAR SISTER,

Urmila Devi gives me a chapter of sorrows. She tells me that Justice Das had serious heart trouble, that Mony is ailing and losing strength and that Bhaskar is dangerously ill. You know that my sympathies are all with you. What is the matter with Bhaskar? Do please let me have a line.

How are you yourself keeping? Do tell me everything about Bhombol. I take it Baby is there and I hope that she is preserving her philosophic firmness.

From a photostat: S.N. 19589

627. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 3, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

Mr. Muhen Hasan Chaman of Kaira, Kutch, tells me that he has applied to you for some time now for the Pratishthan travelling charkha to be sent to him by value payable post. He has not received the same yet. Will you please attend? If you cannot trace his letter you may regard this as the letter of application and send. No further address beyond what I have given is necessary.

You will tell me in due course what was the final result of your effort with Mr. Birla.

Yours,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19590

628. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Thursday, June 3, 1926

BHAI BRIJKRISHNA,

I have your letter today. I am sorry and surprised. There was a letter and a telegram from you regarding Devdas. The telegram was replied to by wire, and I asked Mahadev to inform [you] about Devdas's condition. I do not remember any other correspondence nor am I displeased with anything you did. Surely there ought to be some reason for displeasure and you have given me none. I have told you and I repeat that you may come to the Ashram whenever you please.

Devdas will be discharged from the hospital by tomorrow, and will straightway proceed to Mussoorie. If you are still there you can see him on his way to Mussoorie, as he will certainly inform you. You need not delay coming here just in order to see Devdas. My visit to Finland is 99 per cent cancelled.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2352

629. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

June 3, 1926

I have decided against, not in favour of, going to Finland. There is just the possibility that if Mr. . . .[1] who sent the invitation is in any way likely to be put in an embarrassing position by my not going, then I must go. But I see no reason for embarrassment. So you may take it that I am not going.

[From Gujarati]
Bapuni Prasadi, p. 87

[1] K. T. Paul

630. *LETTER TO JAYANTILAL*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Thursday, June 3, 1926

BHAISHRI JAYANTILAL,

I have your letter. I do not know if you interpret a love-marriage in a way contrary to mine. But I would regard as desirable a marriage between a man and a woman who have maintained pure relations and wish to be united in wedlock, when the union does not involve a breach of propriety. I cannot understand how in the case of a true love-marriage one partner can after the other's death ever think at all of remarriage. But I do believe that we should not oppose a virgin widow desiring to marry. I would regard the intermingling of the four *varnas* as needless and undesirable as also marriages within the *gotra*, the principle being that there cannot be too much circumscription in regard to marriage.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19592

631. *LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 4, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It was certainly very good and generous on the part of Mr. Kelkar to offer the use of the Kesari and the Mahratta presses. You will please ask someone to pass on to me any appeal that you may make for funds and I shall try to do what I can as a matter of simple duty.

Yours sincerely,

RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
POONA CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 12052

632. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 4, 1926

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your two letters. You have given me a full budget of family news which I appreciate although the news is all about illnesses. Of Maud's illness, I knew all from her own letter and also Matar's. I hope they are both now well and strong. With Millie it is her courage which keeps her up and I know that it will stand her in good stead for many a year to come. Please tell Waldo not to keep me in suspense for a long time but make some time if he cannot find it for giving me a long letter. He must write to me as to an old friend and bed-fellow, not a stranger whom he knows only by name. The intricacies of his examinations, I do not understand. But I know that he can give a good account of himself being your son.

Devdas evidently got jealous of Maud. He too therefore developed appendicitis, underwent an operation on the other day and was discharged as cured yesterday. Miss Slade, otherwise Mirabai, is standing this hot season exceedingly well. She has become a very good spinner. She cards her own cotton. Andrews has been with us for the last five or six days. He will probably leave tomorrow for Kotgarh where he is going to see Stokes. Ramdas is hawking khadi and seems to like it well.

I was delighted to receive your copy of the *Bhagavad Gita* translations. I note your careful instructions. I am keeping it under lock and key. You will have the book back sent duly insured as soon as I have made a copy.

99 to one I am not going to Finland. But if I do go and if I come to London naturally I shall stay with you unless you wanted me to stay elsewhere for public or other reasons.

Yours sincerely,

HENRY S. L. POLAK, ESQ.
42, 47 & 48, DANES INN HOUSE
265, STRAND, LONDON, W. C. 2

From a photostat: S.N. 19593

633. LETTER TO S. SHANKER

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 4, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You can simplify your life by reducing your wants consistently with the retention of your health. You can simplify your dress. You can cultivate the habit of going to bed earlier, getting up at four o'clock in the morning, offering prayers just before retiring to bed and after rising from it. You can spin regularly for at least half an hour a day. Study Hindi and Sanskrit and read clean literature. Spinning includes carding and ginning. You can befriend the so-called untouchables.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. SHANKER
NO. 3, TOP FLOOR
NARAYAN BUILDING
NIAGAM ROAD
DADAR, BOMBAY NO. 14

From a microfilm: S.N. 19594

634. LETTER TO NAMUDURY VENKATRAO

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 4, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am sorry to hear of your loss. I am quite clear in my mind that you should not think of remarrying in any circumstance whatsoever. And, if you remain firm in your resolve, God will give you strength to resist any temptation that might come in your way to remarry.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. NAMUDURY VENKATRAO
BHATNAVILLE
AMALAPURAM TALUQ
GODAVARI DT.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19595

635. LETTER TO A MUSLIM LEADER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 4, 1926

BHAISAHEB,

For many days now I have been thinking of writing to you. I had no intention of writing in English, and have none now. I wanted to write at length, and it is hard for me to write such a long letter in the Urdu script. This I am getting written in the Urdu script by a brother of an Ashram inmate. I have your message from Brother Andrews. I wanted to write to you even before I got the message, in fact since the time Alibhai went to Mecca. Regarding the Hindu-Muslim question I have deliberately refrained from saying anything. What can I write? To whom can I tell the tale of my woe? I know very well that I have no influence whatsoever over the quarrelling elements. Bhai Shaukat Ali and Manzur Ali spoke to me at length about your grief, and I have also been given to understand that you were rather pained at my silence. Since I am unable to bring about a compromise what is the good of my writing? I cannot bring myself to believe the various Press reports. I am asked to make a public statement that Malaviyaji and others are enemies of the Muslims, the Hindus ask me to make a similar statement regarding the Muslim leaders. How can I write something which I do not believe? I cannot accept that Malaviyaji and others are enemies of the Muslims; this does not however mean I approve of everything they do. Nor can I agree to calling Mahomed Ali an enemy of the Hindus. In his case, too, I do not approve of all he does. I am asked to state my opinion regarding the Calcutta affair.[1] What opinion can I give out? I have no occult power by which to know who started the trouble in Calcutta and whose crime was heavier. But I do know that the parties are both prejudiced against each other, they look only for each other's faults and have lost mutual trust. In the circumstances there is no other way for a person like me but to keep my peace. I cannot tolerate the killing of even a single Muslim or Hindu or for that matter of any human being. Nor can I tolerate the destruction of a mosque

[1] There were two outbursts of communal rioting in Calcutta during April and May 1926.

or a temple or a church. It is my belief that the same God that dwells in the heart of a Hindu is enshrined in the heart of every other person. And I also believe that a temple belongs to God as much as a mosque. I can never agree to the rule of blood for blood and a temple for a mosque. But who listens to me? It is my firm belief, however, that God does not approve of this rule of blood for blood and temple for a mosque. A day will come when Hindus and Muslims will own their guilt, feel sorry for their behaviour and unite with each other. This is the culmination that I wish to witness in my life-time. And I always pray to God to recall me from this world if I am not to see the light of that day. My desire to live springs solely from this hope. And I want you too to cherish this hope with me and never despair.

Brother Andrews tells me about your proposal that Brother Stokes and he should invite, on their own, a few Hindus and Muslims and attempt a reconciliation. I am afraid their efforts cannot achieve this task. Nor is the time ripe to bring the Hindus and Muslims together in this way. You alone can bring them together when the time comes. Those Muslims who are regarded as enemies of the Hindus as well as those Hindus that are supposed to be Muslim-haters must also be invited to this conference. What good can mere discussions bring when there is mutual mistrust and when people speak one thing and think another in their hearts?

I hope you are in Mussoorie and keeping well.

From a photostat of the Urdu (Devanagari script): S.N. 11069

636. LETTER TO A. S. DAVID

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 5, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am not going to Finland. You may come to see me any time you like. But your letter under reply frightens me a bit. Your desire to accompany me to Finland and to have letters of introduction do not show an attitude of satisfaction with mere bread-labour. And what I want this Ashram to stand for is bread-labour. However, you may come whenever you like to see things for yourself. I would only ask you not to make any final disposals so that you might not feel depressed if the Ashram proves disappointing for you because the very first thing you will

commence with here would be the scavenging work and processes connected with cotton.

Yours sincerely,

A. S. DAVID, ESQ.
CIVIL LINES
SITAPUR, OUDH[1]

From a photostat: S.N. 10917

637. LETTER TO PERIN CAPTAIN

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 5, 1926

I have neglected your letter for a few days. Please give me some more particulars about the Hin...[2] School, Matunga. What is the attendance? How did it come under the protection of the Stree Sabha? Who is on the committee that is looking after the School? How many teachers are there? Who is the head master? Are there any girls in the school? And are the children doing any spinning? If so, what is the monthly output? Do they have the *takli* or the wheel? And please add such other information as you may think necessary.

You may treat the Finland visit as off. Mr. Andrews will be leaving probably today for Delhi.

Yours,

MRS. PERIN CAPTAIN
ISLAM CLUB BUILDING
CHAUPATI
[BOMBAY]

From a microfilm: S.N. 19596

[1] Now a part of Uttar Pradesh
[2] The source has a blank here.

638. LETTER TO PRANJIVANDAS J. MEHTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 5, 1926

BHAISHRI PRANJIVAN,

Chi. Jeki's[1] letter is sent with this. I do not understand all she writes. Whatever may be her faults you must not keep her without a letter. That is what I feel.

My trip to Finland is as good as cancelled. Write to me about your health. I am in excellent health. I had a letter from Ratilal[2] today, which is also sent herewith. I fear that he might not come here. He would feel some kind of restraint here. As he would not come here, so would he not go to Manilal either. Even then I would keep on writing to him.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19597

639. LETTER TO JAYAKUNWAR MANILAL DOCTOR

ASHRAM,
June 5, 1926

CHI. JEKI,

Received your letter. I am sending it to Doctor[3]. I shall write to you on hearing from him. The money which I have asked to be sent to you has nothing to do with the school work. I will send that letter to you, if I have not torn it up. I shall look for it and, if it is there, shall send it to you. Even now Doctor's health can't be considered good. He stammers a little and can hardly sign his name. A mere look at his face does not reveal any illness. These are the news. It is pointless, in my view, for Bhai Manilal to strive to get into the Council. Nor do I see any gain in going out of India. I consider it right to settle down here and bear all the hardships that come his way. Why suppose that hardships will be his lot for ever?

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19598

[1] Addressee's daughter
[2] Addressee's son
[3] Addressee's father

640. LETTER TO AMRITLAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 5, 1926

BHAISHRI AMRITLAL,

Your letter. You should write to your sister's husband and her father-in-law saying that you could not send her to them and inform them of all the hardships faced by her. Before you do this, you have to ascertain from her what she really wishes to do, because she may have run away impulsively and might repent it later or she might become a victim of passion and do something wrong. It would perhaps be better if she realizes all this and returns to her husband and submits to all hardships that may befall her. Thus no definite answer can be given to your question because you alone can take a right decision since you know the temperament of your sister, her husband and his parents. I can only say that if your sister does not want to go to her husband's people you must stand by her. You may not compel her to return there.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19599

641. LETTER TO LAKSHMIDAS PURUSHOTTAM ASAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 5, 1926

CHI. LAKSHMIDAS,

It is good that you left immediately. This time you looked so weak that I could not bear the sight. True economy consists in resting for a month or two, recouping your health and then plunging into work. Write to me regularly about your health. Walk as much as your physique will permit. Only yesterday I heard that M... does not play fair with Gokibehn and has fallen into stealing. I had strongly disapproved of her staying there. So I advised Velabehn to go to Bombay at the earliest and bring the girl back. Gokibehn is willing to send her back.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19600

642. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 5, 1926

CHI. JAMNALAL,

You must have got the telegram I sent you yesterday. Lakshmidas must have settled down there. His health would not rally here. He cannot do without work. I have therefore decided to send him to you so that he may rest along with Devdas. I have come to the conclusion that there is no point in keeping Lakshmidas here no matter how long Devdas stays there. There must be plenty of doctors in Mussoorie. If you feel that Lakshmidas must consult one, let him do so.

You must have learnt that Girdhari has been operated on for fistula. I believe he will get much relief. It is good that he was operated on in time.

The visit to Finland has almost been called off. It is a different matter if I have to reconsider this because of the embarrassment it may cause to Mr. Paul. But the chances of such reconsideration are one in a hundred. I believe you will arrive by the 22nd at the latest. If no one there is put to any inconvenience it is good that Lakshmidas stays there for quite some time. It is absolutely necessary that he recovers completely.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19601

643. LOSS SUFFERED BY SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY

A terrible fire broke out last week in the historic Kibewada area in Poona and two printing presses, Dnyan Prakash and Aryabhooshan, owned by the Servants of India Society, were completely destroyed. This is a loss to the people as much as to the Society. Dnyan Prakash was a press as old as eighty years and the names of leaders like Chiplunkar, Agarkar and Lokamanya Tilak were associated with the Aryabhooshan Press, through which they had all started their public work. We may, therefore, say that the fire has destroyed two priceless memorials. Among other things, many valuable books, manuscripts of books and some considerable literature collected for a biography of the late Gokhale were lost in this fire.

The immediate effect of this loss will be that two journals, *Servant of India* and *Dnyan Prakash* will not come out for some time. We may hope that readers will not mind this, and will also show their full sympathy for the Society by offering as much help as they can. We are glad to note in this connection that workers of both the presses have forgone their claim to bonus amounting to as much as eight thousand rupees, and that many other presses have come forward to offer immediate help to the Society.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 6-6-1926

644. PROBLEM OF NON-VIOLENCE

A gentleman writes as follows:[1]

Such questions are frequently raised. They cannot be brushed aside, either, as being trivial. These problems have been discussed both in the West and the East in books dealing with the deeper meaning of life. In my humble view, there is only one solution to these problems, since they all arise from the same cause. The actions mentioned above certainly involve violence, for every motion or action involves it and, therefore, no action is altogether innocent. The difference between one action and another lies only in the degree of violence involved in either. The very association of the *atman* with the body rests on violence. Every sin is a form of violence, and complete freedom from sin is possible only with the deliverance of the *atman* from the body. A human being, therefore, may keep perfect non-violence as his or her ideal and strive to follow it as completely as possible. But no matter how near it he reaches, he will find some degree of violence unavoidable, in breathing or eating, for instance. There is life in each grain which we consume. When, therefore, we adopt a vegetarian diet and abstain from non-vegetarian food we cannot claim that we completely avoid violence. But we prefer the former and regard the violence involved in it as inescapable. This is why eating for pleasure must never be indulged in. We should eat only in order that we may live, and should live only to realize the self. If our living for this purpose involves any violence, we may be a party to it as being unable to escape

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had asked for Gandhiji's views about the impossibility of observing perfect non-violence in practical life, since destruction of insects could never be completely avoided.

it. We can now see that if, in spite of all our precautions, there are germs in the water and bugs [in the furniture], we may do whatever we find necessary to get rid of them. I do not believe that it is a divine law that everyone should act in the same way at certain times and in certain circumstances. Non-violence is a quality of the heart. Whether there is violence or non-violence in our actions can be judged only by reference to the spirit behind them. Everyone, therefore, who regards the observance of non-violence as a moral duty should guide his actions by the principle stated above. I know that there is a flaw in this reply. One may commit violence as much as one chooses and then, deceiving oneself and the world, justify one's actions with the plea of their being unavoidable. This article is not meant for such persons. It is addressed only to those who believe in the principle of non-violence and are assailed by moral doubts from time to time. Such persons will commit even unavoidable violence most hesitatingly, and limit, not expand, the scope of their activities, so much so that they will not use any of their powers for selfish ends. They will use all their energies for public service, dedicating to God everything they do. All the gifts and abilities of a good man, that is, a non-violent, compassionate man, are for service to others. There is violence always in the attachment to one's ego. When doing anything, one must ask oneself this question: "Is my action inspired by egoistic attachment?" If there is no such attachment, then there is no violence.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 6-6-1926

645. NOTES

A Complaint

A gentleman writes as follows:[1]

If the friend who makes this complaint had been reading his *Navajivan* carefully, he would not have found it necessary to complain as he has done. He has requested a reply in the columns of *Navajivan*. *Young India* acknowledges the subscription or contribution from every member by name, and a summary is published in *Navajivan* from time to time. From that everyone can know the number of members in the Spinners' Associa-

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent wanted to know full particulars of the financial position of the Spinners' Association.

tion. Detailed information about its working is also published occasionally in *Navajivan*. Still, I think it necessary to explain some points here. The Association's office has not yet received yarn in such quantity that it can directly help to reduce the price of khadi; but indirectly the yarn received has had so great an effect that throughout the country the quality of yarn which the Association gets people to spin for payment has improved. The yarn which is received as voluntary gift from members has proved extremely useful as a means of testing the other yarn received and keeping a check on its quality. But the quantity of such yarn received as gift by the Spinners' Association is so little, relatively speaking, that the khadi made from it will reach a very small number. That is why the khadi made from it has had to be mixed with that made from other yarn; not a single piece of it has been given away to any member of the office staff. The members pay for the khadi which they require, and some of them get it woven from yarn spun by themselves. If those who spin voluntarily keep with themselves the yarn which they have spun, get it woven and gift the cloth to someone without giving publicity to their act, then the purpose which can be served by an organized action will suffer or be defeated altogether, and the effort being made to improve the quality of yarn will have to be given up. The office expenses of the Association do not exceed its income. When they do, I myself would dissolve it or leave it. I must admit, though, that the expenses cannot be met from the quantity of yarn it receives as gift. The balance is met from other contributions in cash. If, however, the membership of the Association increases from the present number of four thousand to four crores, the expenses of the office can be met from the yarn contributed by them. Hundreds of young men would then earn their livelihood by working in the office and the increase in the number would also have considerable and direct effect on the price of khadi.

Is This the Right Method of Cow-protection?

A worker in the cause of cow-protection writes as follows:[1]

This is a sorry state of affairs. Probably similar conditions prevail in many other *goshalas*. One thousand five hundred *goshalas* is not a small number. If all of them are run well and there is one common organization for them, they can maintain thou-

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had visited a *goshala* and described the uneconomic way in which it was run.

sands of cattle-heads and increase the national wealth to the tune of crores of rupees, and we would discover the best method of cow-protection. There ought not to be a loss of Rs. 11,000 in the *goshala* referred to by the correspondent. Not a single calf ought to be given away as a gift. If this same *goshala* were turned into a model dairy, the people of the village would get milk and ghee at a low price, and if, at the same time, a tannery were also started side by side, the people would get shoes and other needed articles of leather. As things are, in spite of good money being spent, not a single cow is saved from the slaughter-house. In this way, the work of *goshalas* is becoming very limited in its scope. Running a *goshala* has come to mean looking after infirm cattle in a perfunctory manner.

If we wish to start a business, we would engage efficient workers and pay them. If the business was running at a loss, we would try to find out the reasons, would effect some improvement every day and not rest till we had succeeded in stopping the loss. The aim in running a *goshala* is not merely to provide a small shed for cattle; it is to discharge the sacred duty of cow-protection. But we get this work done mostly through inexperienced men who do it in their spare time. Such persons deceive themselves and believe that they are doing some service; those who give the money deceive themselves by believing that the cause of cow-protection is served, and in this way hundreds of thousands of rupees are thrown away in the name of religion. If my correspondent had furnished the following particulars, I would have made further inquiries concerning the *goshala*.

(1) The number of infirm cattle.
(2) The number of milch cows and buffaloes.
(3) The daily yield of milk.
(4) The number of calves—male and female.
(5) The number of bullocks and he-buffaloes.
(6) The area of land.
(7) Is the *goshala* located in the village or away from it?
(8) The number of deaths among the cattle.
(9) Arrangements for disposal of cattle which die.

PERPETRATING "ADHARMA" IN THE NAME OF DHARMA

Shri Rameshwardas Birla donated Rs. 2,500 for a temple for *Antyajas* at Amreli and a beautiful temple was erected. An image of Lord Lakshminarayana was installed in the temple and it was duly opened to the public. The report of this event which I have received contains the following information.

The Brahmins cruelly harassed the priest who officiated at the ceremony, though the gentleman on whose behalf they performed it did not belong to the untouchable class. At the time of this ceremony for the opening of a temple for *Antyajas*, the latter were made to sit in a separate enclosure. Even the gifts offered to the priest did not come from *Antyajas* nor the money with which the temple was erected. The only reason, therefore, for punishing the priest was that the temple was for the use of *Antyajas*. For this offence, he had to get his moustaches shaved off and to perform atonement.

I cannot compliment the priest for thus forgetting his self-respect. If the ceremony of invoking the presence of God in the image was a sacred act, the subsequent atonement was not atonement, but an act of sin. Even if the priest was afterwards boycotted by his. community, what would he have lost in consequence? No one need be afraid now of the bogey of expulsion from one's community. Those who have courageously let themselves be boycotted have not only suffered nothing thereby but have actually found themselves free from unnecessary bonds. Says Brahmanand[1]:

Embark not on a venture without knowing;
Having gone to the field of battle, yield not to fear;
He who rushes to the field, courage on his face,
And then flees from battle,
What good his living, carrying his lustreless face among men?

How true are these words in the present case? I had not expected that the Brahmins of a progressive town like Amreli would display so much ignorance, such fanaticism.

If some Brahmins of Amreli disgraced Hinduism in this manner, there were also some who brought credit to it, for at the time of the installation of the image Hindus from all communities had attended the function. There were Brahmins, Vanias, Luhars, Sutars, Kanbis and others. There were some officials too. Other people, besides *Antyajas*, are also seen benefiting from this temple built specially for the latter. Some Brahmins have even agreed to read the *Bhagavāta* and other holy books in the temple. It remains to be seen what effect that boycott has on these other Brahmins.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 6-6-1926

[1] A Gujarati poet

646. LETTER TO K. T. PAUL

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 6, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and the original letters from the Committee of arrangements. The letters make it clear to me that the idea of invitation was prompted by you out of your great goodwill towards me and your exaggerated notion of my influence over people especially the young mind. But I feel more than ever convinced that the time is not yet for me to leave India on such slender pretext as is furnished by the correspondence before me. The call to go out of India for service has got to be pressing and overwhelming. The correspondence is really a response to your desire for my presence at the deliberations at Helsingfors. But I know my own limitations and recognize the difficulties in the way of my message going straight home. If there is any power in my message it would be felt without the physical contact.

I know that my decision will disappoint you but it has been my lot in life to disappoint loving friends. But I know that these disappointments have done good rather than harm. You will please forgive me for all the trouble that you have been put to on my account and ask for forgiveness from the friends at Helsingfors who might have expected my presence there. Needless to say my prayers will attend your deliberations and my best wishes accompany you on your voyage.

I return the original letters.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 11357

647. LETTER TO V. SUNDARAM

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 6, 1926

MY DEAR SUNDARAM,

It was a joy to receive your letter, for, I have often thought of you and a greater joy still to find that you were helping Mr. Stokes. What about the hereditary village wardenship? Who is taking your place? I hope that your eyes will be completely cured by your stay on the hills.

Your Hindi writing is very good. It is better than my Tamil speech but it admits of much improvement. Your own name is not correctly spelt. The words of the hymn you have copied are beautiful. I am not writing separately to Savitri. Hers also is a good effort. But she must do much better.

Devdas is quite all right. He was discharged three days ago from the Hospital.

Yours,

SJT. V. SUNDARAM
C/o S. E. STOKES, ESQ.
KOTGARH
SIMLA HILLS

From a microfilm: S.N. 19602

648. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN CHOKSI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday [*June 6, 1926*][1]

CHI. MOTI,

I have your letter. The handwriting can this time be said to be good. If you make it a habit to write something regularly, however little it may be, your handwriting will improve. To a question similar to the one you have asked a reply is given in the current issue of *Navajivan*. Is there no middle way between killing of bugs and breeding them? We are not bound to do the latter,

[1] From the postmark

but we have no right to kill them. So we may pick them up and leave them at a distance. I shall hand over your letter itself to Manibehn. I have sent Laxmidas to Mussoorie as soon as he arrived here. In order to fetch Mani, Velabehn left for Bombay with Ramdas who was also going there. On her way back she will stay for a day with you. Manibehn says that the book sent for her has not reached her yet.

Blessings from
BAPU

SUKANYA NAJUKLAL CHOKSI
RASHTRIYA KELAVANI MANDAL
BROACH

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12128-A

649. TELEGRAM TO K. T. PAUL

June 7, 1926

K. T. PAUL
THOTTAM
SALEM

THANKS LETTER. AFTER CAREFUL PRAYERFUL CONSIDERATION MY FINAL CONCLUSION IS NOT TO GO FINLAND

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 11358

650. LETTER TO DR. B. S. MOONJE

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 7, 1926

DEAR DR. MOONJE,

I have your letter. You have certainly given me a common ground for action. But the whole conception being yours, how shall I get it executed by others? If you write out something to make the learning of grammar easy and do not preach therethrough your philosophy, and the text is passed by other Sanskritists, I shall undertake to get it printed and circulated at cost price. Or if you know anyone who has understood your ideas and will write the grammar but will require financial assistance,

I shall apply to him and try to secure his services. In any case what little is possible is being done through the Gujarat Vidyapith. But I own that it is nothing compared to what can be accomplished if Sanskrit study can be made demonstrably easy. Personally I consider it to be easy enough. It would not increase the tremendous strain put upon our poor nerves by the unnatural English study. I call the present English study unnatural because it displaces the vernacular.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 19603

651. INTERVIEW ON COLOUR BAR BILL

AHMEDABAD,
[On or before *June 8, 1926*][1]

Interviewed regarding the recent *communique*[2] of the Government of India on the Colour Bar Bill, Mahatma Gandhi said:

The assurance given in the *communique* in my opinion takes us no further than we were before it. The Union Government have indeed repeatedly said that they have no present intention of extending the scope of the Bill beyond the position that existed prior to the judgment in Rex *v.* Hildick Smith. Opponents of the Bill, however, attack it on the principle that the enabling powers under it go much beyond the position anterior to the judgment and that it can be made applicable not merely to the natives of the soil but to Indians also. Nor is it possible to derive any comfort from the fact that when the scope of the Regulations to be framed thereunder is extended, all parties in the Union will be enabled to make representations. The Bill does not take away the right of petition, and one knows by this time the fate of the representations by parties without power to enforce their will. I wonder if this assurance means that the party without the Union, namely the Government of India, will have no right of representation.

The Bombay Chronicle, 9-6-1926

[1] From the correspondent's date line
[2] *Vide* "Valueless Assurance", 10-6-1926.

652. LETTER TO JANAKDHARI PRASAD

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 8, 1926

DEAR JANAKDHARI BABU,

I was delighted to receive your letter after such a prolonged interval. I note the difficulties the school is going through. Faith has no limitation of time. That which is limited by time is not faith at all. If therefore you have boundless faith in your mission, I have not a shadow of doubt that it will succeed, the cause being right.

With reference to the two difficulties my prescription is the same. At the present moment, the atmosphere has become so impure that I cannot advise the formation of any new party or group. Those of us who do not believe in aggressiveness with regard to Hindu-Muslim unity, and do not believe in Council-entry in any shape or form must each one remain true to our ideal. We do not need any organization to keep up our spirits. Those who need that outward help are wanting in deep conviction and I am anxious that only those who have deep and abiding conviction should remain out. For, it may be that there are still greater trials in store for us. Those, therefore, who have weak faith will then succumb. It will be the indomitable remnant that will carry the day in the end, because, I see no freedom except through non-co-operation. My faith in it is growing with time.

I hope you are keeping excellent health.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. JANAKDHARI PRASAD
SHRI GANDHI VIDYALAYA
P.O. HAJIPUR
DT. MUZAFFARPUR

From a photostat: G.N. 50; also S.N. 19604

653. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 8, 1926

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Certainly write for *The Bombay Chronicle*. I share your view for the most part. But education may not be the only remedy. If it is the only remedy unity must wait for a long time. What is needed is the education of the heart. After all, in my opinion, the hands that fight may be the hands of the goondas but the brains behind them are the brains of educated Hindus and Mussalmans. If that education is to be multiplied, heaven help Hindusthan. But there can be no harm whatsoever in your writing for the paper. And, there certainly will be no harm if you do not write at all. You may let things simmer down a bit. There is no room for the time being for any solution except that of the cock fight.

Ramdas was here for a day. He went over to Bombay to see Devdas and threatens to get down at Baroda on his return to see you and pay his respects.

He says, but for you, he could have done nothing for the sale of his khadi. A white beard has its charms all its own.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 9556

654. LETTER TO RUTH S. ALEXANDER

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 8, 1926

DEAR SISTER,

Mr. Andrews has brought me your precious letter. It revives old and sacred memories. Kallenbach[1] has not yet come to me though he is threatening always. I dare say one fine morning I shall find a cable from him saying he has started.

[1] A German architect, devoted friend and co-worker of Gandhiji in South Africa

Do you ever see *Young India*? I call it my weekly letter to friends. Please remember me to Mr. Alexander. Mr. Andrews has told me how helpful he was in his mission.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. RUTH S. ALEXANDER
HEILBRON
LEIGHTON ROAD
ST. JAMES, C.P.

From a photostat: S.N. 10766

655. LETTER TO PYARELAL NAYYAR

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 8, 1926

MY DEAR PYARELAL,

You have been silent of late. I am sending by registered post one copy of the spinning essay and the notes you have left here. I want you to go through the copy as quickly as you can, making your corrections in the body of the essay.

It is finally settled that I am not going to Finland. I hope you are keeping good health and daily improving as you must. Chhotalal has returned after his wanderings. He is not yet quite himself.

Yours,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19605

656. LETTER TO H. K. VEERANNA GOWDH

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 8, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

No permission is necessary for dedicating your work to me. But if you do dedicate it to me please do not say that you have obtained my permission. I cannot give it without reading the book and if you send it to me, I should have no time to read it.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. H. K. VEERANNA GOWDH
CHANNAPATNA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19606

657. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, June 8, 1926

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your letter. So far Khadi Pratishthan has been given not less than Rs. 70,000 through the Charkha Sangh. As far as I remember Rs. 25,000 have been given to Abhoy Ashram and Rs. 6,000 to the Pravartak Sangh. Many small sums have also been paid. All that would approximately amount to Rupees one and a quarter lakh. Even more would be granted to Bengal. I know the need of Khadi Pratishthan is great. Satis Babu wants to enlarge his activities considerably and I would like him to. But there is very little money with the Charkha Sangh today. So whatever is possible through the Charkha Sangh will be done, but do give to Satis Babu as much as you can.

What shall I say about the Councils? There are fundamental differences between me and Malaviyaji on this subject. I can only say that if you believe that your entering the Council would benefit the people you should definitely do so. Opposition to the Swaraj Party and the temptation of gaining political education are both irrelevant from the moral angle. If you have a feeling that you have vowed in my presence not to enter the Council get rid of that impression. No such restraint was accepted categorically. You should feel free from any obligation and decide your stand about going to the Council from a moral standpoint, that is, with public service in view.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original: C.W. 6128. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

658. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, June 8, 1926

BHAI SHANTIKUMAR,

I have read your letter to Mahadev. When you sent me mangoes on your birthday, you should have asked for blessings, at any rate, though as a matter of fact you have them always. Do tell me why you have given up mangoes for the last seven years. May God grant you a long life.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 4702. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

659. LETTER TO RAI PRABHUDAS BHIKHABHAI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, June 8, 1926

BHAI PRABHUDAS,

I have your detailed letter. You did well to write. Your argument is perfect, but it is my experience and also that of persons who have tried *pranayam* and other methods that *brahmacharya* cannot be observed merely with the help of *pranayam*. But I believe *pranayam*, etc., help those who have acquired control over their mind. We come across very few people who have made a deep study of the yoga from this point of view and have tried yogic methods. If one takes only one meal a day, I have nothing to say. But if one consumes at one sitting a quantity of food equal to three meals, that will not help him in *brahmacharya*. This is a violation of it and it damages one's health. There are two opinions and I have my own doubts regarding the need of nutritious diet for the observance of *brahmacharya*. But I do not want you to change your method if it greatly helps you in the observance of *brahmacharya*, if it keeps up your spiritual progress and all your senses are brought under control. You should try your own method and effect such changes as your experience may dictate. And if you succeed so that even your mind is not disturbed by passions the world will stand to gain by your experiment. Remember that

brahmacharya implies control of all the senses in respect of thought, speech and action. According to this definition if you have a lustful eye or an evil thought or there is a discharge even in dream *brahmacharya* would be violated.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12187

660. LETTER TO PERIN CAPTAIN

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 9, 1926

I take it that you will be in Bombay during the whole of this month. I think I told you that a German sister was coming to me. Her name is Helene Haussding. She is expected on the 25th instant by the *Razmak*. Will you please meet her and take her home and send her the same day to Sabarmati, and wire to me by what train she leaves. You will please tell me if you are not likely to be in Bombay on that date or if it will be impossible for you to go and meet her on board.

Have Nurgisbehn and Mithubehn returned? And, if they have, how are they doing?

Yours,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19610

661. NOTES

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY

In the note issued by the Society upon the loss suffered by it owing to the recent fire nothing so much stirs one as the offer of the employees of the press. It is evidence of the scrupulous care with which the Society has dealt by its employees. Unless the latter felt the loss to be personal, they would not make the self-sacrificing and handsome offer that they have made of forgoing half the bonus and offering to work without extra pay for ten instead of eight hours a day and the printer himself offering to work for six months without any pay whatsoever. Both the Society and the employees deserve heartiest congratulations for this spirit of comradeship existing between what may be called Capital and Labour. This expression of the excellent spirit is no small compensation for the tremendous losses the Society has suffered.

The loss of the valuable manuscripts containing Gokhale's life and the files of the *Dnyan Prakash* for the last eighty years is indeed irreparable. But it is only in this manner that Nature gives us rude shocks and reminds us that there is nothing permanent, nothing ever-lasting except God himself; and that therefore ours is but honourably and humbly to labour only to do His will irrespective of consequences.

The members of the Society are now manfully striving to restart without avoidable delay the interrupted activities. The question is how will the public help. Assurances have been given from many parts of India. It is to be hoped that the assurances will be translated into action without delay and without fuss. However much one may differ from the politics of the Society, there is no denying the honest and self-sacrificing labours of its members, there is no denying their patriotism. It stands unique in its great social activities no less valuable than the political. I hope that the readers of *Young India* will show their appreciation of the many services of the Society, and their toleration where they differ from the Society's politics, by sending in their subscriptions in response to its appeal.

Spinning-wheel in Mysore

In his speech[1] at the District Conference, the Deputy Commissioner and the President of the District Board of Mysore presented spinning as a useful subsidiary occupation, and as pre-eminently suited in poor families to supplement the family income, and thus exhorted the local bodies and public-spirited people to take it up in right earnest:

> To secure increased popularity and to ensure its general adoption by the people . . . it is necessary that the leaders in each village, the *Yejmans* the *Sahukars*, the *Budhivantas* should take to it. . . . I appeal to all Municipal Councils, Panchayats, and Village Committees, Co-operative Societies and other Associations to stock and sell charkha to the local people, and secure at least one trained weaver for their town or village, provide him with a loom, and get woven into *dupaties* and towels all the yarn locally spun by people who could not drive any other trade or calling owing to age, infirmity, disease or lack of occupation. . . . The District Board hopes to be able to take full advantage in the coming year of the recent order of Government promising to meet half the cost of demonstrations and competitions arranged for weaving and spinning. . . .

[1] Only excerpts reproduced here

Here at least there is an official recognition of the spinning-wheel. The more the possibilities of this simple instrument are known, the greater will be its hold upon the people.

Spinning for Famine Relief

The Kathiawar Rajkiya Parishad is nursing a khadi centre in Kathiawar in and near Amreli by way of famine relief. Though there is no actual famine there, for want of sufficient rain the cultivation has been below par for three successive years, the result being that many cultivators are living from hand to mouth. It is in this centre that nearly a thousand farmers' wives are supplementing their poor resources with wages earned from hand-spinning. Instead of these women remaining in idleness and in a state of semi-starvation, they are earning from anything between one to three rupees per month according to the time they are able or willing to give to spinning. Incidentally this work furnishes occupation for carders, weavers and washermen. The difficulty however had to be confronted of selling khadi so made. Mr. Abbas Tyabji came to the rescue and he, assisted by Sjts. Amritlal Seth and Ramdas Gandhi, toured in parts of Kathiawar for the purpose of hawking the khadi. It was not possible to sell it as cheap as khadi produced in some parts of India where carders, weavers, washermen and even spinners do not demand or receive the same wage as those in Kathiawar. But Mr. Abbas Tyabji was able successfully to appeal to local patriotism for the disposal of his khadi. And he tells me that nowhere was he put off by people, but, as soon as they understood what this khadi meant, they took all that he had to offer. This khadi, as all other khadi, has had an interesting history. Its price has gone down in the same proportion as it has risen in quality. And yet there is plenty of room for improvement in the quality of khadi and decline of its prices. The decline in prices and progress in improvement depend upon steady improvement in carding and spinning upon which increasingly great attention is being bestowed. But the chief points to be noticed in this connection are that khadi has been the means of giving work and wages to poor women who would have been without either but for khadi and that there is unlimited scope for this work provided demand for khadi can be kept up.

Peripatetic Khadi Exhibition

Khadi workers all the country over are discovering the great utility of khadi exhibitions in popularizing and demonstrating

the various processes connected with cotton till it becomes khadi on the weavers' loom. Recently a peripatetic exhibition was organized in the district of Ratnagiri. It covered eight villages. In all these places demonstrations were given in hand-ginning, carding, spinning on the wheel as well as the *takli*, and methods of testing the strength of yarn. There were exhibited samples of indigenous dyes, yarn spun by leaders, khadi of various grades and a small assortment of other swadeshi goods. Whilst the exhibition was on, in the respective villages, hawking too was resorted to. There was a reading-room improvised which furnished literature on khadi. There was a magic-lantern demonstration. Singing parties gave songs and *bhajans*[1]. People were encouraged and enabled to subscribe to the All-India Deshbandhu Memorial [Fund] and addresses on khadi were delivered by well-known speakers. The whole thing was organized in an efficient and inexpensive manner. The expenses amounted to Rs. 622-9-11. And these were partly covered by profits made on the khadi sales. There is no doubt that such exhibitions have a great educative value and further experience and consequent improvements may make them self-supporting.

Young India, 10-6-1926

662. *KHADI PROGRESS*

Here is a graph[2] illustrating three years' production and sale by the Khadi Pratishthan. The reader can see at a glance the enormous progress made by the Prathishthan as well in production as in sale.

Young India, 10-6-1926

663. *VALUELESS ASSURANCE*

The Union Government have, the Government of India tell the public in a *communique*, given the assurance that

> there is no present intention on the part of the Union Government of extending the regulations beyond the position as it existed prior to the judgment of the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court in the case, Rex *v.* Hildick Smith, when it was held that certain regula-

[1] Devotional songs

[2] Not reproduced here

tions with reference to miners and works, which have actually been in force in South Africa since 1911 and in certain provinces for many years before that date, were not valid under the sections of the Act in terms of which they were promulgated.

The *communique* further states:

that the Government of India have also been assured that should any such extension of the scope of these regulations be contemplated in future, every reasonable opportunity will be given to all parties in the Union interested in the matter to make representations.

I hold these two assurances to be simple camouflage. For the Union Government, in reply to questions in the Union House of Assembly, have been repeatedly saying the same thing that they have now told the Government of India, namely, that they had no present intention of exceeding the scope of the regulations beyond the position that existed prior to the judgment in question. The sting of the new Bill lies in its enabling powers. It is like the sword of Damocles hanging over the heads of both the Natives of South Africa and the Indian settlers, for, it can be made applicable to the latter precisely as the former. The Bill is, therefore, as insulting as it can possibly be made. Only it does not affect the material interests of the Indians as much as the Class Areas Bill, not because of any goodwill on the part of the Union Government, but because Indians as a rule do not take to labour, skilled or unskilled, of the kind contemplated under the Colour Bar Bill. They are better touched materially through their trade and through restriction of residential rights. And this is sought to be accomplished by the Class Areas Bill which is to be considered by the Round Table Conference. The Colour Bar Bill shows the mentality of the Union Government and as *The Times of India* correspondent very properly says in effect the acceptance by the Union Government of the proposal for a Round Table Conference is a mere courteous gesture. It is not to be interpreted to mean a change in the Union Government's angle of vision. And this deduction is further strengthened by the later information that in adumbrating his native policy, General Hertzog has made it clear that, whilst he is prepared to allow limited representation in the Union Parliament to the Natives and to the Coloured people, he will not allow any whatsoever to the Indian. The result which *The Times of India* correspondent rightly deduces is that the Indian, in the estimation of General Hertzog, stands infinitely lower than the Native. In fact, he is to be tolerated till he can be effaced from South

Africa as a necessary evil. The Colour Bar Bill therefore cannot be isolated from the different Acts of the Union Government. It forms part of its settled policy and furnishes the key to it.

Nor is the second assurance given by the Union Government of the slightest value. Is it any new right that they have conceded when they say that when the scope of the regulations is extended every reasonable opportunity will be given to all parties in the Union, interested in the matter, to make representations especially when it is known to them that representations of Indians carry no voting force behind them? And, if the qualifying phrase in the *communique* means that parties outside the Union, that is, the Government of India or the Imperial Government will not be allowed even to make representations, surely the assurance is worse than useless, because, it is a restriction of which the announcement has been made and not a concession.

Young India, 10-6-1926

664. *WHAT IS PRAYER?*

A medical graduate asks:

> What is the best form of prayer? How much time should be spent at it? In my opinion to do justice is the best form of prayer and one who is sincere about doing justice to all does not need to do any more praying. Some people spend a long time over *Sandhya*[1] and 95% of them do not understand the meaning of what they say. In my opinion prayer should be said in one's mother tongue. It alone can affect the soul best. I should say that a sincere prayer for one minute is enough. It should suffice to promise God not to sin.

Prayer means asking God for something in a reverent attitude. But the word is used also to denote any devotional act. Worship is a better term to use for what the correspondent has in mind. But definition apart, what is it that millions of Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians and Jews and others do every day during the time set apart for the adoration of the Maker? It seems to me that it is a yearning of the heart to be one with the Maker, an invocation for His blessing. It is in this case the attitude that matters, not words uttered or muttered. And often the association of words that have been handed down from ancient times has an effect which in their rendering into one's mother tongue

[1] Ritual prayer to Sun God

they will lose altogether. Thus the *Gayatri* translated and recited in, say, Gujarati, will not have the same effect as the original. The utterance of the word 'Rama' will instantaneously affect mill-lions of Hindus, when the word 'God', although they may understand the meaning, will leave them untouched. Words after all acquire a power by long usage and sacredness associated with their use. There is much therefore to be said for the retention of the old Sanskrit formulae for the most prevalent *mantras* or verses. That the meaning of them should be properly understood goes without saying.

There can be no fixed rule laid down as to the time these devotional acts should take. It depends upon individual temperament. These are precious moments in one's daily life. The exercises are intended to sober and humble us and enable us to realize that nothing happens without His will and that we are but 'clay in the hands of the Potter'. These are moments when one reviews one's immediate past, confesses one's weakness, asks for forgiveness and strength to be and do better. One minute may be enough for some, twenty-four hours may be too little for others. For those who are filled with the presence of God in them, to labour is to pray. Their life is one continuous prayer or act of worship. For those others who act only to sin, to indulge themselves, and live for self, no time is too much. If they had patience and faith and the will to be pure, they would pray till they feel the definite purifying presence of God within them. For us ordinary mortals there must be a middle path between these two extremes. We are not so exalted as to be able to say that all our acts are a dedication, nor perhaps are we so far gone as to be living purely for self. Hence have all religions set apart times for general devotion. Unfortunately these have nowadays become merely mechanical and formal, where they are not hypocritical. What is necessary therefore is the correct attitude to accompany these devotions.

For definite personal prayer in the sense of asking God for something, it should certainly be in one's own tongue. Nothing can be grander than to ask God to make us act justly towards everything that lives.

Young India, 10-6-1926

665. *CO-OPERATION IN SPINNING*

A dear friend asks me to answer the question that has occurred to him and his other friends.

> Is there co-operation in spinning? Does it not rather make people purely individualistic, self-centred and keep them separate from one another even as so many pebbles?

The briefest and the most decisive answer I can give is: "Go, watch any well-organized spinning centre and test the thing for yourself. You will then discover that spinning cannot succeed without co-operation."

But brief though this answer is, it is, I know, useless for those (and they are the majority) who cannot or will not make the time for paying such a visit. I must therefore try to convince by describing such a centre in the best way I can.

In speaking to a co-operative society in Madras last year, I said that through hand-spinning I was trying to found the largest co-operative society known to the world. This is not an untrue claim. It may be ambitious. It is not untrue because hand-spinning cannot serve the purpose for which it is intended unless millions actually co-operate in it.

The purpose is to drive away enforced idleness and pauperism which is the result mainly of that idleness in India. This purpose, it will be admitted, is grand enough. The effort must be correspondingly great.

There must be co-operation from the very commencement. If spinning makes one self-reliant it also enables one to understand the necessity of interdependence almost at every step. An ordinary spinner must find a ready market for her surplus yarn. She cannot weave it. There can be no market for her yarn without the co-operation of a large number of people. Just as our agriculture is possible only because there is co-operation, be it ever so little, of millions in regard to the cultivation and disposal of the produce, so will spinning be successful only if there is co-operation on an equally large scale.

Take the working of any typical centre. At the central office is collected seed cotton for spinners. The cotton is ginned by ginners perhaps at the centre. It is distributed then among carders who re-deliver it in the shape of slivers. These are now ready to be distributed among the spinners who bring their

yarn from week to week and take away fresh slivers and their wages in return. The yarn thus received is given to weavers to weave and received back for sale in the shape of khaddar. This latter must now be sold to the wearers—the general public. Thus the centre office has to be in constant living human touch with a very large number of people irrespective of caste, colour or creed. For the centre has no dividends to make, has no exclusive care but the care of the most needy. The centre to be useful must keep itself clean in every sense of the term. The bond between it and the component parts of the vast organization is purely spiritual or moral. A spinning centre therefore is a co-operative society whose members are ginners, carders, spinners, weavers and buyers—all tied together by a common bond, mutual goodwill and service. In this society the course of every piece can be traced almost with certainty as it floats to and fro. And as these centres grow and draw the youth of the country who have the fire of patriotism burning brightly in their hearts and whose purity will stand the strain of all temptation, they will, they must, become centres for radiating elementary knowledge in hygiene, sanitation, domestic treatment of simple diseases among the villagers and education among their children suited to their needs. That time is not yet. The beginning indeed has been made. But the movement can grow only slowly. It is not possible to show substantial results till khadi has become a salable article in the bazaar like ghee or, better still, a postage stamp. For the present a vast amount of energy has to be spent in educating the people to buy khadi in the place of any other cloth even as a child would eat and bless the rice cooked by its mother without stopping to think of the quality or the price of the rice so cooked. If it did, it would find that the rice cooked by the mother was far too dear for the labour and the love spent upon the working. And so will it be with khadi one day, when the children of mother Hind wake from their deep sleep and realize that yarn spun and worked by the hands of her daughters and sons can never be too dear for her crores of children. When this simple truth dawns upon us, spinning centres will multiply a hundredfold, a ray of hope will penetrate the dark Indian cottages and that hope will be the surest foundation for the freedom we want but do not know how to achieve.

Young India, 10-6-1926

666. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Thursday [June 10, 1926][1]

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Your Letter. I wish you too could make a long stay there and build up your body getting away from it all. There must be no more fits of giddiness. The real remedy for it is, mainly, open air and exercise. You must take a ten-mile walk daily. I should not think that is at all too much. The Charkha Sangh committee meets on the 26th; you do not therefore have to come here till then. It would be better if you resisted the temptation to stay in Delhi and at the Rampura Ashram for the present. I want you to spend as much time in Mussoorie as possible. Ask Lakshmidas to write to me from time to time. He should improve his health a lot. Velabehn will arrive here this evening along with Mani.

Blessings from
BAPU

JAMNALAL BAJAJ
NARAYAN NIWAS
MUSSOORIE, U.P.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2866

667. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 11, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I must not argue with you, for, your reasoning is perfect. Khadi work requires *tapasya*. You are bent upon it. I can therefore say, may God help you.

If Hema Prabha Devi surrenders everything of her own accord and if she can bask in the sunshine of freedom from all possessions, I should naturally feel delighted. I have simply uttered a note of warning as a friend. But you will both do as the spirit guides you.

[1] From the postmark

The meeting is postponed to the 26th instant to enable everyone to be in his place on the 21st instant which is the Id day. I shall expect you on or before 26th.

You must have received my letter about a travelling charkha for Mr. Muhammad[1] Hassan Chaman of Kera, Cutch. If not, please send one to him by V.P.P.

Mr. Birla has written to me of what he has done. It is good that you have enlisted his interest. I have written to him[2] at length and asked him to give all the help he can to the Pratishthan.

Yours,

From a microfilm: S.N. 11182

668. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your circular letter. You might have noticed a paragraph in the current number of *Young India* about the Society's loss. I am thinking out to whom I should make the appeal. Is Malaviyaji approaching anybody to your knowledge? There are monied men whom both he and I can approach. But, I know that he can approach them with greater confidence and greater effect. Has anyone approached Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai? To Jamnalalji I shall be writing. He is in a somewhat peculiar position just now. He has ceased to multiply his earnings and has almost ear-marked the profits he is making. I know that there is still a reserve. I fancy that he will send something, but nothing like what I would like him or ask him to send if he was his former self.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 12059

[1] 'Muhen' in "Letter to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", 3-6-1926.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to G. D. Birla", 8-6-1926.

669. *LETTER TO AMIYA CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I was simply wondering whether my letter had miscarried. I now understand the sad reasons for the delay in acknowledging my letter. You have not yet mentioned to me the calamity that has befallen you. How can I help you to find peace? It can only come from within and by waiting upon God and trusting Him with implicit faith. No man need ever feel lonely who feels the living presence of God near him and in him. Whatever peace I have found, has been found by increasing faith in the hand of God being in everything. Calamities then cease to be calamities. They test our faith and steadfastness. May you also find your peace in the midst of seeming strife.

Yours sincerely,

AMIYA CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI, ESQ.
TIRTHA NIBAS, PURI

From a photostat: S.N. 12060

670. *LETTER TO JETHALAL H. JOSHI*

June 11, 1926

If Bhai Nriprasad does not need you and Jamnadas wants you, then settle down there. Where can I find a better educational field for you than this? Whatever I teach you is bound to be uninteresting from the modern viewpoint.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 10922

671. LETTER TO FULCHAND KASTURCHAND SHAH[1]

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, June 11, 1926

BHAI FULCHAND,

Your letter. You may perhaps like to file Jamnadas's post-card; hence I am returning it to you. I have written to him that he should have asked me for money. Because of our difficult [financial] position you do not have the means to offer the money. Most probably I have written to you that my going to Finland has been cancelled. I have also replied to Devchandbhai. Today there is a letter from the Dewan. I have sent that also to Devchandbhai. In reply he writes that he would come by the end of the month. I have received the report and shall go through it. Fixing the date of the conference has been delayed and that troubles me too. But I am a bird with my wings clipped; so in every such case my inclination is to wait. It is perfectly true that Manilal has deposited a sum of Rs. 32,000 with Revashankerbhai, but we are not in a position to use it yet. A letter of authority for Manilal is still to come. He told me on his return from Rajkot that it would come in a short time. On receiving this amount, whether my finances allow it or not, I shall definitely pay off the sums for which I have committed myself. I have talked to Vallabhbhai about the school at Rajkot. Whenever you need anything, please do ask for it. I am prepared to provide the cotton for the training of *Antyaja* teachers at Rajkot, Jetpur and other places. Bhai Balwantrai has arrived. I have asked him to keep Rs. 100 for the sale of khadi. And for making payments to the weavers he may ask for more as the need arises. I am having a talk about Gariyadhar with Bhai Shambhushanker who is here today. I have found that he is getting the work done very economically. It seems to me Gariyadhar work is the least expensive of all. Bhai Balwantrai said that Mulchandbhai needed Rs. 500 for the *Antyaja* Ashram, which has been paid to him on his personal security. All your queries have now been answered.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 10923

[1] For other letters to the addressee, *vide* "Letter to Fulchand", 25-3-1926 and 7-5-1926.

672. *LETTER TO CHUNILAL D. GANDHI*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 11, 1926

BHAISHRI CHUNILAL,

I have your letter as well as the *hundi* from your friend. I intend to use the money for propagating khadi.

SJT. C. D. GANDHI
C/o TATA MILLS (LTD.)
BOMBAY HOUSE, BRUCE STREET
FORT, BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19611

673. *LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, June 11, 1926

BHAI DEVCHANDBHAI,

Here is a letter from the Dewan. Now we have to wait for the rest of this month at any rate.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19612

674. *LETTER TO KANTILAL H. PAREKH*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 11, 1926

BHAISHRI KANTILAL,

I have your letter and it is quite to the point. You did well in writing. If you still have anything to ask do write to me without hesitation. The responsibility concerning khadi that rests on you and on others like you cannot be taken away, until we get men who will put less responsibility on others or who have the same capacity as yourself and until they are able to carry on khadi work by themselves. Along with the spread of the khadi movement we also exhort people to lead a simple life. Until we give up some of our undesirable habits khadi work cannot gain momentum.

If to make khadi a practical proposition is interpreted to mean that it should compete with mill-made cloth, I think that is almost impossible. Dharma need never enter into such competition. Millowners may give away their cloth gratis just to kill khadi, but can we do the same with khadi? There certainly is competition in trade when commodities are offered, [virtually] for nothing. I am willing to listen to all criticism of the work there. And I am eager to remove all recognizable faults. If it is said that since the workers are my own men the demands of that centre are readily conceded, the complaint is entirely baseless. I know it, because it is contrary to my nature to do so. Of course, one thing is certain. I am entirely useless where I cannot trust people. I shall be glad if you let me know why you regard the complaint as reasonable.

I am not at all perturbed by the way Ramdas has now been selling khadi. It cannot be said that he compels people to buy khadi. But one can certainly say that they buy it owing to a sense of shame or out of a desire to help others. I see nothing wrong in it. Only thus can the spread of khadi be initiated. The over-all expense on khadi is much more than the artisans' wages, hence it is our duty to effect as much economy as possible. That depends on the spirit of sacrifice and the efficiency of the workers. I believe this improvement is coming gradually. But please make whatever suggestions you can in this regard. We shall certainly implement as many of them as possible.

Now about you. If I know why you have lost faith in the khadi movement, I can find a remedy. We must promote the desire to work without remuneration. But how many people will do that? Before you do what you like, there is need to assume a big responsibility, you may certainly stay in the Ashram as long as you consider it necessary. The Ashram made you what you are and its reward therefore is your character. Always guard it. Make it nobler every day. That itself is the return. How long you can serve by living in the Ashram depends perhaps on your own convenience. One can free oneself of worries on one's own. If freedom from worry depended upon another's convenience, it could never be had. When the season there is over, do come here. Before that if you have anything particular to say, do write to me. If the answer I have given is not complete, please let me know.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 10927

675. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 12, 1926

I have your letter. You will have misfortune. But there is as much connection between your being in Tiruchengodu and the water scarcity as there is between Z—a newcomer—being in the same district and the scarcity. Those who charge you with rivalry unconsciously give your presence an importance you did not deserve. But as there is not much danger of your becoming inflated, let those good people who so charge you have all the pleasure they can derive from their belief.

The Finland idea is dead and decently buried. Dr. Dalal has suspected Hydrocele in Devdas. Even if it requires an operation it would be a minor thing. I certainly don't worry about it, perhaps, because I don't dread the knife so much as I[1] dread drug-taking.

Poor Santanam! It almost appears as if we in India have more than our share of domestic troubles. And in India the Southern Presidency seems to take the first place.

I shall speak to Shankerlal about the arrangements of the tour.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 10929

676. LETTER TO FENNER BROCKWAY

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your cable. I am so sorry you had to go to the expense of cabling me. Newspaper correspondents will publish things without verification. There was a talk about my going to Finland. But it was announced in the newspapers that everything was arranged, whereas, nothing was certain. The final decision come to was that I should not go to Finland. Had I gone, I

[1] The source has "a" in place of the words "as I".

would certainly have accepted your invitation. As it was, I had to send you the following cablegram which I hope you duly received.

"Thanks, not going Europe."

Yours sincerely,

FENNER BROCKWAY, ESQ.
INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY
13, GREAT GEORGE STREET
LONDON S.W. 1

From a photostat: S.N. 11361

677. LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA GARU

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

What a sad letter you have sent me. I appreciate the confidence you have given me. After all it is these domestic troubles which enrich one's life, for, they enable us to realize the vanity of wordly pomp, worldly riches and worldly happiness and enable us also to realize the true beauty of ahimsa, otherwise, love of the purest type.

I am glad both your wife and daughter are improving. I hope that the improvement will be continuous and permanent.

Yes, Devdas had an operation. He was discharged last week and is now taking his convalescence with Jamnalalji at Mussoorie. I am not going to Finland. There was a talk about my going. But I decided not to go.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19616

678. LETTER TO C. V. KRISHNA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 12, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNA,

I have your letter. This is my message for the Conference:

I wish the Conference every success. The fact of its being held on the Pinakini Satyagraha Ashram grounds is a tribute to the memory of the late Hanumantha Rao who devoted his life selflessly to the national cause. I hope that the various conferences, being held there will emphasize the necessity of hand-spinning and khaddar and that the black taint of untouchability that I discovered when I was in that district will be removed as a result of the effort of the Conference.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19617

679. LETTER TO "FORWARD"

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Here is the best reminiscence I can give you of Deshbandhu for your special number:

'Throughout my privileged stay with Deshbandhu at Darjeeling during the closing days of his earthly life, I found that, ill as he was, the bulk of his time was devoted to the thought of his country. Even whilst he had fever on he would discuss with me the future plans that he had laid down for his country's uplift. I often ask myself whether we are doing anything or enough to have deserved such a man as Deshbandhu.'

Yours sincerely,

THE EDITOR
"FORWARD"
19, BRITISH INDIAN ST.
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 19618

680. LETTER TO GANGABEHN MAJMUDAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, June 12, 1926

RESPECTED GANGABEHN,

Your letter. What can I do if you distrust persons who stay with me? I can't agree upon the prices, etc., of two years ago. I can pay you only at present rates. Over and above that, I shall try to pay you as much as I can. I only want you to appoint someone you trust to sit with a person nominated by me. Both of them may fix the prices according to existing conditions and I am prepared to pay them. I would request you to settle this matter urgently.

BAPU

SMT. GANGABEHN MAJMUDAR
NAGARWADA, RICHEY ROAD
AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 10942

681. LETTER TO MULSHANKER KANJI BHATT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, June 12, 1926

BHAISHRI MULSHANKER,

I could make out nothing from your letter. I can intervene only if there is a debt due to you in law or in equity. I find neither in this case.

SJT. MULSHANKER KANJI BHATT
KALBADEVI, NEW MARKET, ROOM NO. 27
BOMBAY-2

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19613

682. LETTER TO SOMNATH PURUSHOTTAM

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, June 12, 1926

BHAI SOMNATH,

I have your letter. In my view the primary rules to be observed by all are truth and non-violence. And I believe that one who does not control his palate can observe neither rule. The practice of some yoga would, I imagine, be necessary for successfully observing these rules.

SJT. SOMNATH PURUSHOTTAM
BHANGWADI THEATRE
BOMBAY-2

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19614

683. LETTER TO JAGJIVANDAS NARANDAS MEHTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, June 12, 1926

BHAISHRI JAGJIVANDAS,

Bhai Shambhushanker has arrived here. I discussed everything with him. Just now he has asked for Rs. 300. A *hundi* for the amount is sent herewith. Some of the debts are small, which he says he would pay off. I have found a debt of Rs. 1,300 from you. Bhai Shambhushanker has also told me that you intend to take interest on that amount. I feel that you cannot charge interest on money [lent for] public causes. Bhai Shambhushanker says that you constantly complain that you get no money from me, and you have to spend your own money. I remember no occasion of withholding money without reason. Some delay might have been caused in understanding things; but for that, there was no delay whatever. Even if I have unreasonably delayed payment, you must never give your money and, if you do, you should not charge interest. I am prepared to pay off the money on behalf of the Parishad, when the question of interest is sorted out. Bhai Shambhushanker's salary was also discussed. He should take Rs. 50 up to July and then Rs. 25. Bhai Shambhushanker would think it over and write to me. He deserves much more but he has told me

of his desire to lead a selfless life and his resolve to take nothing for public service as far as possible. Hence I suggested Rs. 25.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19615

684. *WHAT IS NATURAL?*[1]

No word seems to be more abused today than the word 'natural'. For instance, a correspondent writes, "as eating and drinking are natural to man, even so is anger." Another seems to argue: "The sexual function is as natural as the other functions of the body. Were it not so, God would not have endowed it to man. If it was not our duty to curse the wicked and to bless the good, why should we have been endowed with the faculty of cursing and blessing? May it not be our duty to develop all our faculties to perfection? And thus *himsa* would appear to be as much one's dharma as ahimsa. In short virtue and vice are figments of our imagination. You ahimsa is a sign of weakness, inasmuch as it expresses only one side of our nature. Rather than regard it as the highest religion, why should we not regard it as the highest irreligion? *Ahimsa Paramo Dharmah* was originally *Ahimsa Paramo Adharmah*—the negative prefix *a* (not) having somehow dropped out, or been rubbed out by some enemy of mankind. For on many occasions, *ahimsa* can be demonstrated to be the highest irreligion." This is not one man's argument, I have boiled down and put together the arguments of many. The theory about the negative *a* in *ahimsa*[2] being dropped was propounded by an old barrister friend, and he did so in all seriousness. Indeed if we were to put man in the same category as the brute, many things could be proved to come under the description 'natural'. But if they belong to two different species, not everything that is natural to the brute is natural to man. "Progress is man's distinction, man's alone, not beast's." Man has discrimination and reason. Man does not live by bread alone, as the brute does. He uses his reason to worship God and to know Him, and regards the attainment of that knowledge as the *summum bonum* of life. The brute, if he can be said to worship God, does so involuntarily. The desire to worship God is inconceivable in the brute, while man can voluntarily worship even Satan. It must therefore be, and is, man's nature to know and

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 13-6-1926. This is a translation by Mahadev Desai.

[2] Slip for *adharma*

find God. When he worships Satan, he acts contrary to his nature. Of course, I will not carry conviction to one who makes no distinction between man and the brute. To him virtue and vice are convertible terms. While to the man whose end and aim is realization of God, even the functions of eating and drinking can be natural only within certain limits. For having knowledge of God as his end, he will not eat or drink for the sake of enjoyment but solely for sustaining the body. Restraint and renunciation will therefore always be his watchwords even in respect of these functions.

And if it is man's nature to know and find God, sexual indulgence should be contrary to his nature, and complete renunciation of it will accord best with his mission. For realization of God is impossible without complete renunciation of the sexual desire. It is not man's duty to develop all his faculties to perfection; his duty is to develop all his Godward faculties to perfection and to suppress completely those of a contrary tendency.

Anyone blessed with choice or free will to accept and reject cannot but distinguish between good and evil, virtue and vice. For these mean in other words nothing but things to be accepted and things to be rejected. Thus robbing someone of his property is a thing to be rejected, hence bad or sinful. We have within us both good and bad desires. It is our duty to cultivate the former and to suppress or eradicate the latter, and if we fail therein we should remain brutes though born men. Birth as a human being is therefore declared by all religions as a rare privilege—a state of probation. And Hinduism says that if we are weighed and found wanting we should have to be reborn as beasts.

The world is full of *himsa* and Nature does appear to be 'red in tooth and claw'. But if we bear in mind that man is higher than the brute, then is man superior to that Nature. If man has a divine mission to fulfil, a mission that becomes him, it is that of ahimsa. Standing as he does in the midst of *himsa,* he can retire into the innermost depths of his heart and declare to the world around him that his mission in this world of *himsa* is ahimsa, and only to the extent that he practises it does he adorn his kind. Man's nature then is not *himsa,* but ahimsa, for he can speak from experience, his innermost conviction, that he is not the body but *atman,* and that he may use the body only with a view to expressing the *atman,* only with a view to self-realization. And from that experience he evolves the ethics of subduing desire, anger, ignorance, malice and other passions, puts forth his best effort to achieve the end and finally attains complete success.

Only when his efforts reach that consummation can he be said to have fulfilled himself, to have acted according to his nature. Conquest of one's passions therefore is not superhuman, but human, and observance of ahimsa is heroism of the highest type, with no room therein for cowardice or weakness.

Young India, 24-6-1926

685. MAHUDHA KHADI CENTRE

I give below some facts from the report of this Centre which Shri Mohanlal Pandya has sent to me.

The Centre provides spinning work to 261 women, of whom 236 are Muslims. The rest belong to the Brahmin, Vania and Barot communities. The number of spinners is increasing day by day. This work is a great help to them, as they would not go out of their homes to do any other work. The Muslim women call the spinning-wheel the glory of the housewife.

As a result of this activity, three persons are employed in carding and five women in making slivers. Eight looms are operating.

The quantity of yarn produced is 20 maunds a month. Previously, they spun yarn of 6 counts, but now the Centre does not want them to spin yarn of less than 10 counts and does not, therefore, pay less than 5 annas per pound. That comes to Rs. 12½ per maund, the total for 20 maunds being Rs. 246. This means an average earning of less than a rupee for every woman who spins. Shri Mohanlal, however, tells me that it is probably one and a half rupees. If he is right, then either the number of spinners is smaller or the yarn spun is of a higher count.

From this quantity of yarn they weave every month 65 pieces of khadi, each of 18 yds. length and 27 inches width. They make from these pieces towels of 1½ yds. length and 22 inches width, and small square hand-kerchiefs. Most of this khadi is sold in Bombay. From Magashar[1] to Vaishakh[2], khadi worth Rs. 1,294 was sold locally.. The Centre now has stocks of khadi brought from other sources too. Their sale during the last three months amounted to Rs. 842. The selling price of the khadi is fixed at 20 per cent less than the cost price. The Centre has a staff of six persons.

[1] & [2] Names of months in the Indian calendar, corresponding roughly to November-December and April-May

I commend to this Centre and others like it the example of Bengal. There all khadi is produced for local consumption and, therefore, every effort is made to meet local needs. The result is that a large quantity of fine khadi with greater width is produced, and the production of such khadi is increasing day by day. If, in this manner, we work to meet local needs, we get opportunities of coming into contact with people belonging to all classes of society and are able to serve them, and at the same time the consumption of khadi will also spread to larger numbers. If we adopt this method of promoting the use of khadi, a good many problems will be solved automatically and by and by we shall advance not in arithmetical progression but in geometrical progression.

If the same attention were paid to improving the strength of the yarn as is paid to its fineness, every weaver would agree to weave that yarn. Experience tells us that if we wish to improve the quality of yarn, the spinner should himself or herself prepare the slivers. It need not be pointed out that this will add to the earnings of the spinners.

Another suggestion which I should like to make to workers is that they should go to villages in the interior and acquaint themselves with the conditions there. They should study the conditions of the poor in those villages and examine the possibility of introducing the spinning-wheel among them. I know that it is very difficult for people like us, brought up in modern conditions, to go and live in places far removed from any railway station. Once we are there, we cannot leave as often as we might want. However, it is in these villages that real work awaits us, and eventually we shall be forced to go to them. There are more than 7,000 railway stations to serve seven lakh villages, and, if the Government's tax collectors can reach them, why should not servants of the country go there to give the people a return for the taxes which they pay? It should not be forgotten that the people who collect the taxes as also those who benefit from them directly or indirectly are from among our own middle class.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 13-6-1926

686. WHAT PROVISION SHOULD BE MADE FOR DISABLED CATTLE?

A gentleman devoted to cow-protection writes:[1]

Those who have read my articles [on the subject of cow-protection] cannot be in doubt about my views on this point, for I cannot even for a moment entertain the idea that disabled cattle should be left uncared for. I believe it to be the duty of all of us to look after such cattle. But I have often pointed out that kindness to animals does not mean merely this. Cow-protection has a wide connotation, and we do not discharge our duty to cows and buffaloes fully by merely looking after disabled cattle. Cow-protection means preventing, in a manner consistent with dharma, that is, without doing anyone harm, the unnecessary slaughter of cattle which is going on at present. Today, either through ignorance or fanaticism, we have given cow-protection an extremely narrow meaning. That is why we helplessly witness or tolerate the unnecessary slaughter of cows before our very eyes. With a little intelligence, some self-sacrifice and a measure of practical knowledge, we can save countless cows and buffaloes and thereby preserve the wealth of the country. An attempt is being made in these pages to explain this. This way of protecting cattle will necessarily ensure the protection of disabled and infirm cattle. At present, such cattle are a burden on us, and therefore, one might even say that they are not protected in the right manner. I am convinced that, when we have solved the problem of cow-protection in an intelligent manner, we shall be able to take excellent care of infirm and disabled cattle.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-6-1926

[1] The letter is not translated here. While generally approving of Gandhiji's views, the correspondent wanted to know what provisions he would recommend for disabled cattle if the existing *goshalas* were turned into dairies as advised by him.

687. LETTER TO N. S. VARADACHARI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 13, 1926

MY DEAR VARADACHARI,

Your letter stuns me. Unless you have lost faith in the virtue of khadi how can you possibly want to leave khadi work? I had hoped that you were the last person in the world to think of deserting khadi. I can understand your difficulties. But does not success in any enterprise mean capacity for overcoming difficulties no matter however great they may be? If you cannot possibly do with the salary you are getting, you must let me know what you need. If the salary cannot be paid out of the Charkha Fund, some extra work might be found for you. "Where there is a will there is a way". The only thing needful is that there should be a determination not to desert khadi no matter what it costs. But, if your faith in khadi has slackened, you should tell me so. I have warned friends repeatedly that if in their experience they find khadi to be an impracticable proposition, they must not hesitate to say so first to me if they will and then to the public. I have no desire to bolster up a wrong cause no matter what grief it may give to me personally. As a matter of fact it will be no grief to me but unmixed joy to discover my error. No friend therefore need spare me when he finds that my faith in khadi is like building castles in the air. But, if your faith is as green as when you wrote your essay then you dare not desert khadi. If necessary, you can come and discuss things personally with me.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. N. S. VARADACHARI
ERODE

From a microfilm: S.N. 11184

688. LETTER TO V. LAWRENCE

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 13, 1926

MY DEAR LAWRENCE,

I was delighted to receive your full letter after so many months or is it years? I did know that one of your sons was in Jaffna. How strange however that he should never write to me? I suppose you are now rich enough to let him even pay a visit to me. Let him come. I will give him some lessons in spinning and he will also see something of real Indian life.

Yes. I would love to listen to the music of your daughters. Ramdas is just now with me. He is engaged in doing khaddar work. He will be leaving me for his headquarters in a few days. Devdas had an operation for appendicitis and he is now taking his convalescence with a friend at a hill station. Chhaganlal and Maganlal are here with their families. Jamnadas, the third brother whom you know, is in charge of a national school at Rajkot. Mrs. Naidu is touring through India. Mr. Andrews has gone to his friend Mr. Stokes who is living near Simla. This finishes the news of those whom you know. I am keeping well and passing my time principally in editing the two newspapers.

With love to you all.

Yours sincerely,

V. LAWRENCE, ESQ.
19, FOUNDRY LANE
DURBAN, S. AFRICA

From a photostat: S.N. 19619

689. LETTER TO KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA

ASHRAM, SABRAMATI,
Sunday, June 13, 1926

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I got your letter. As for my message, it was on these lines: If you can free yourself occasionally for short intervals, you may be able to do some work as a supervisor and earn something. This suggestion was made in the belief that Balubhai would not be willing at present to allow you to come to the Ashram. I knew well that you would not like the suggestion and even said so to Nanabhai. But I thought you might perhaps accept a supervisor's job for a short time as the work is, I think, lighter and while doing it you can stay in Bombay. I would certainly like your coming, if you can, to the Ashram and, if your health permits, your taking up lessons in weaving. What you say about the students is right. I would recommend it to them and would talk about women occasionally.

How long would Girdhari have to be there?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19620

690. LETTER TO KASAMALI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, June 13, 1926

BHAISHRI KASAMALI,

Your letter. God is one. I do not understand your difficulty in conceiving Him as formless. That which has a form cannot be all-pervading, it needs must be the subtlest. It can therefore be only formless. All must admit the need for a guru but one may not hastily accept someone as a guru. In this age to seek a guru is to believe in one, because to acquire a perfect guide one must perfectly qualify oneself. Moreover if we regard all faiths as true there is no need for us to relinquish our faith or make others change theirs, since all can adopt whatever satisfies them from all the religions.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 10932

691. MESSAGE TO THE STUDENTS

The Gujarat Mahavidyalaya opened, after the last summer vacation, on June 14th, with an address from Gandhiji which, it being his day of silence, was read for him. The following is the translation:

1921 and 1926—What a difference?

Please do not think that I am striking a melancholy note. We are not going back, our country is not going back. We have gone five years nearer swaraj and there can be no doubt about it. If someone says that it was very nearly achieved in 1921 and today it is far away—no one knows how far—do not believe it. Prayerful, well-meaning effort never goes in vain, and man's success lies only in such an effort. The result is in His hands.

Strength of numbers is the delight of the timid. The valiant of spirit glory in fighting alone. And you are all here to cultivate that valour of the spirit. Be you one or many, this valour is the only true valour, all else is false. And the valour of the spirit cannot be achieved without Sacrifice, Determination, Faith and Humility.

We have built our Vidyalaya on the foundation of self-purification. Non-violent non-co-operation is one aspect of it. The 'non' means renunciation of violence and all that stands for it, i.e., all Government control. But so long as we do not co-operate with our 'untouchable' brethren, so long as there is no heart-unity between men of different faiths, so long as we do not co-operate with the millions of our countrymen by according to the spinning-wheel and khaddar the sacred place they deserve, the negative prefix is entirely nugatory. That non-co-operation will not be based on ahimsa, but *himsa*, i.e., hatred. A negative injunction without a positive obligation is like body without soul, worthy to be consigned to the flames. There are 7,000 railway stations for the 7,00,000 villages of India. We do not even claim to know these 7,000 villages. We know only through history the condition of villages not within easy reach of railway stations. The only loving tie of service that can bind the villagers to us is the spinning-wheel. Those who have not yet understood this basic truth are in this institution to no purpose. The education is not 'national' that takes no count of the starving millions of

India and that devises no means for their relief. Government contact with the villages ends with the collection of revenue. Our contact with them begins with their service through the spinning-wheel, but it does not end there. The spinning-wheel is the centre of that service. If you spend your next vacation in some far-off village in the interior you will see the truth of my remark. You will find the people cheerless and fear-stricken. You will find houses in ruins. You will look in vain for any sanitary or hygienic conditions. You will find the cattle in a miserable way, and yet you will see idleness stalking there. The people will tell you of the spinning-wheel having been in their homes long ago, but today they will entertain no talk of it or of any other cottage industry. They have no hope left in them. They live, for they cannot die at will. They will spin only if *you* spin. Even if a hundred out of a population of 300 in a village spin, you assure them of an additional income of Rs. 1,800 a year. You can lay the foundation of solid reform on this income in every village. It is easy I know to say this, but difficult to do. Faith can make it easy. 'I am alone, how can I reach seven hundred thousand villages?'—This is the argument that pride whispers to us. Start with the faith that if you fix yourself up in one single village and succeed, the rest will follow. Progress is then assured. The Vidyalaya wants to make you workers of that type. If it is a cheerless job, the Vidyalaya is indeed cheerless and fit to be deserted.

You will see that we open this term with a few changes in our staff. Acharya Gidwani whose sacrifice rendered the opening of this College possible, and who won the affection of students, has at my instance accepted the office of Principalship of Prem Maha Vidyalaya, Brindaban. I know that students were agitated over this. I congratulate them on their devotion to their Principal. I give you today the consolation that I gave the students that saw me the other day. We have to put up with these partings. We can but treasure the good things of our loved ones and follow them. Rest assured that we have done everything in the interests of the College. Fortunately we have Sjt. Nrisinhaprasad to serve us as Vice-Chancellor. He has lived with students for years and he often comes in contact with you. Trust yourselves to him. My doors are always open for every one of you. It has been a constant source of sorrow to me that I have not been able to come as closely in contact with you as I have wished.

Professors Athavale, Dalal, Mazumdar and Shah have left the College. Their resignations were unavoidable. It is to be re-

gretted that we shall no more have the benefit of their scholarship. But in their stead we have as Professors Sjts. Kikubhai, Jinabhai Desai, Nagindas, Gopaldas and Gandhi. They are all ex-students of the Vidyalaya and well may we take a pardonable pride in the fact. Let their industrious scholarship be a source of honour to us. May God bless you with long life for the selfless service of the country.

Young India, 17-6-1926

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

VITHALBHAI PATEL'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

BOMBAY,
May 10, 1926

DEAR MAHATMAJI,

When I accepted the office of President of the Legislative Assembly I had made a resolution within myself that I would devote the savings from my salary towards the furtherance of some object calculated to promote the national welfare. It was not possible for me for various reasons to save anything worth the name within the first six months. Since the last month, however, I am glad to say that I am quite out of the woods, and can, and do, save a substantial amount. I find that, on an average, I require Rs. 2,000 per month for my expenses. The amount of my net salary, excluding income-tax, is Rs. 3,625. I propose, therefore, to set apart Rs. 1,625 per month, beginning from the last month, to be utilized hereafter in such manner and for such purpose as you may approve. I have, of course, some ideas in the matter, and I will in due course discuss them with you. But whether you agree with me in those ideas or not, the amount is at your disposal.

I enclose herewith a cheque for Rs. 1,625 for the month of April.

I trust you will not decline to take this responsibility.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
V. J. PATEL

Vithalbhai Patel—Life and Times—II, p. 669

APPENDIX II

I. THE SABARMATI PACT[1]

The conference convened at the instance of Pandit Motilal Nehru was held at Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad, on the 20th and 21st. . . . Telegrams and letters were received. . . including one from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya which contained suggestions about bringing all Indian political parties on a common platform in a united Congress.

[1] This appeared under the title "Swarajists and Responsivists: The Ahmedabad Compromise".

The conference adopted the following agreement, as embodying its decision on points specifically discussed:

It is hereby agreed between the undersigned, subject to the confirmation of the All-India Congress Committee, that the response made by the Government shall for purposes of Clauses (a) and (b) of the resolution II-B (4) of the All-India Congress Committee, dated March 6 and 7, 1926, be considered satisfactory in the provinces, if the power, responsibility and initiative necessary for the effective discharge of their duties are secured to ministers and the sufficiency of such power, responsibility and initiative, in each province, shall be decided in the first instance by Congress members of the Legislative Council of that Province, subject to confirmation by a Committee consisting of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. M. R. Jayakar.

It is further agreed that the said Committee will decide all disputes in the Congress provinces of the Bombay Maharashtra, Bihar and the C.P. Marathi. This agreement has been subscribed to by the undersigned in their individual capacities, and it will be submitted for ratification to the executive of the Swaraj and Responsive Co-operation Parties. It will be placed for ratification before the All-India Congress Committee at a meeting which is being convened on May 5 and 6 next, at Sabarmati.

The compromise is signed by Sarojini Naidu, Motilal Nehru, Lajpat Rai, M. R. Jayakar, N. C. Kelkar, B. S. Moonje, M. S. Aney, D. V. Gokhale, G. A. Ogale at Sabarmati, April 21, 1926.

II. A. I. C. C.'s Delhi Resolution

The Clauses of Resolution II-B(4) of the A.I.C.C. meeting at Delhi referred to in the agreement state that Congressmen shall

(a) refuse to accept offices in the gift of the Government until, in the opinion of the Congress, a satisfactory response is made by the Government;

(b) refuse supplies and throw out budgets until such response is made by the Government, except when the Working Committee instructs otherwise.

III. Responsivists' Akola Manifesto

The Responsive Co-operationist Party manifesto, issued at the Akola Conference in February last, declared regarding their Council programme:

We believe that no programme of bringing about constitutional deadlock by resorting to the policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction can be successful unless tried on a large scale, and backed by some sanctions behind the same.

We believe that the best course under the present circumstances is that of Responsive Co-operation, which means working the Reforms, unsatisfactory, disappointing and inadequate as they are, for all they are worth; and using the same for accelerating the grant of full responsible Government and also for creating, in the meanwhile, opportunities for the people for advancing their

interests and strengthening their power and resistance to injustice and misrule.

The policy of working the Reforms necessarily includes the capture of all places of power, responsibility and initiative which are open to election by, or are otherwise responsible to, the party within the legislature, subject to such conditions with regard to policy, programme and kindred matters as may seem desirable to impose from time to time.[1]

IV. The Breakdown of the Pact

At the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Ahmedabad on the 4th May, Pandit Motilal Nehru announced that, owing to irreconcilable differences between the signatories of the Sabarmati Pact regarding the interpretation of its terms, the negotiations that he had been for the past few days carrying on with the Responsivists had broken down, and the Pact had, therefore, fallen through and was non-existent. A letter from the Responsivists was read by the Secretary confirming in the main Pandit Motilal's statement.

V. Motilal's Substitute Formula

The following is the text of the substitute formula which was handed to the Responsivists leaders on the 4th morning:

Having regard to the fact that doubts and differences have arisen as to the true interpretation of the agreement arrived at between Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Messrs Lajpat Rai, M. S. Aney, M. R. Jayakar, N. C. Kelkar, G. A. Ogale and Pandit Motilal Nehru at Sabarmati on the 21st April, 1926, this meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, while fully agreeing with the principles, policy and programme laid down in resolution 7 of the Cawnpore Congress and resolution 2(b) of the All-India Congress Committee passed at Delhi on 6th and 7th March, 1926, and fully believing that dyarchy in any form or shape is wholly unworkable in the best of conditions, is of opinion that with a view to remove all doubts and differences and to put the true issue before the country, it is expedient to state clearly what shall constitute the statisfactory response referred to in the said resolution.

It is, therefore, hereby resolved:

That the acceptance by the Government of the principle underlying the resolution passed by the Assembly on the 8th February, 1925, shall constitute a satisfactory response by the Government to the national demand for full responsible Government, and the immediate adoption by the Government of the various steps mentioned in the resolution of the Assembly passed on the 8th September, 1925, shall for the present be taken to be a sufficient compliance with the said principle.

[1] Parts I, II and III are reproduced from the *Indian Review*, April, 1926, and Parts IV, V and VI from the issue of May, 1926.

(2) That if Responsible Government in the fullest sense is guaranteed by the Government to come automatically in the near future by the adoption of steps other than those mentioned in the resolution of the Assembly passed on the 8th September, 1925, and if, in the meantime, substantially full Responsible Government in the provinces is granted, the response so made by the Government shall be considered sufficient in the provinces for the purpose of accepting ministerships and considering the provincial budgets on their merits, provided that no such response shall be considered adequate unless it includes:

(a) The release or trial according to law of all political prisoners who are at present detained without being convicted by a duly constituted court.

(b) The repeal of all repressive laws.

(c) The removal of all disqualifications now imposed on persons who have served the sentences passed on them, from standing for election to elected bodies in the country.

(d) The abolition of non-official nominations to membership of Council and throwing open the seats of nominated non-official members to election by the general electorate.

(3) That the adequacy of any action by the Government in any province as is referred to in resolution 2 shall on the recommendation of the Congress members of the Legislative Council of that province be decided by the Working Committee.

VI. Responsivists' Disapproval

In their reply, Mr. Jayakar and his colleagues pointed out:

We have carefully considered the draft which we regarded as a travesty of the Pact and a complete repudiation of the same. We think that the draft furnishes no common ground on which we could profitably meet and discuss. Under the circumstances, we are of opinion that no useful purpose will be served by our attending the Working Committee's meeting this morning, and we have, therefore, decided not to attend the same. We feel that we need not have been dragged all the way to Ahmedabad from our distant homes to be made sport of in the manner the draft proposes to do.

The Indian Review, April and May, 1926

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CHRONOLOGY

(February 11–June 14, 1926)

February 11: In *Young India* article "From Sweden", Gandhiji explained the significance of his programme of non-violent non-co-operation and the movement for abolition of untouchability.
In *Young India*, described the Asiatic Bill as a "Breach of Faith".

February 14: In interview with South-African Deputation in Ahmedabad, assured them of his readiness to go to South Africa if necessary.

February 18: In *Young India*, in "Topic of the Hour" and "From Bad to Worse" commented on the injustice of the South-African bill and the remedy of 'self-help' and 'satyagraha'.

February 25: In *Young India*, in "Our Humiliation" criticized Viceroy's acceptance of Dr. Malan's proposal that the Government of India place evidence before the Select Committee only through the Paddison Deputation.

February 27: Motilal Nehru came to Ahmedabad for discussions with Gandhiji.

March 11: Sent message to Swami Shraddhanandji's weekly, *The Liberator.*
In letter to Shri Chunilal, sent message to convention on cow-protection.

March 12: Sent message on the spinning-wheel to *Hindustani*, Lahore.

March 15: In letter to A. A. Paul, explained his attitude regarding invitation to him to visit China.

March 17: In interview to Katherine Mayo, expressed his views on exploitation by the West, the economics of the spinning-wheel, the blot of untouchability, the injustice of British rule in India, etc.
In letter to Dr. Satya Pal, sent message for the "Phulwari" commending the bravery of the Sikh people.
In letter to Dr. B. C. Roy, sent message to Basanti Devi on opening ceremony by Tagore of Chittaranjan Seva Sadan.

March 18: In *Young India* article "Difference in Degree", described the racial and colour problem in South Africa as "a tremendous world problem".
In letter to J. H. Reinhold, permitted him to translate writings in *Young India*.

March 20: In letter to Lala Lajpat Rai, explained his attitude to invitations to visit America and Finland.

March 21: Spoke at annual function of National Music Association, Ahmedabad.

March 26: In letter to Katherine Mayo, analysing the causes of Indian poverty, underlined the importance of hand-spinning as the remedy therefor.

March 27: In letter to R. D. Tata, wrote of the latter's promised donation of one lac spindles and *taklis* during Gandhiji's visit to Jamshedpur.

March 28: In *Navajivan* article, answered "Some Questions on Religious Issues".

April 1: In *Young India* article "My Political Programme", emphasized, in reply to American friends, the spinning-wheel as his programme besides unity, and abolition of untouchability and of revenue from drink and drugs.
Sent message on abolition of untouchability to a meeting at Trivandrum.

April 4: In *Navajivan*, wrote on "Brahmacharya", "Satyagraha Week", "Hill Tribes" and "All-India Deshbandhu Memorial".

April 8: Sent a message to Mysore Lawyers' Conference at Tumkur.
Wrote a foreword to Hemendra Babu's life of Deshbandhu.
In *Young India* article "Objections Considered", explained the case for the spinning-wheel in reply to Babu Bhagwandas.

April 11: Wrote a message on Jallianwalabagh Day in response to request from Sarojini Naidu.
In letter to G. D. Birla, wrote on the communal riots in Calcutta.

April 13: In letter to K. T. Paul on the subject of his visit to Y.M.C.A. World Convention in Finland, explained his conditions in the matter of his dress and diet, his preference for "heart to heart conversations" over "speech-making", etc.

April 15: In *Young India* article "Pandit Nehru and Khaddar", replied to *The Times of India* which had used "not only insulting" but also "highly misleading" language.
In *Young India*, wrote a long review of the book "The Takli Teacher".

April 18: Issued statement to Press on postponement of Mussoorie visit.

April 20: In letters to Satis Chandra Das Gupta and Kaka Kalelkar, explained how and why Mussoorie visit was cancelled.

April 21: Was present at discussions among Motilalji, Jayakar, Kelkar, Aney, Moonje, Lala Lajpat Rai, Sarojini Naidu and others at the conference convened by Pandit Motilal Nehru for framing agreed conditions for responsive co-operation with Government.

April 22: In *Young India* article "Drink, Drugs and Devil", advocated total prohibition in India.
In interview, clarified his attitude to Royal Commission on Agriculture, as a confirmed non-co-operator, while accepting Governor's invitation to discuss problems on agriculture at Mahabaleshwar.

April 23: Wrote to Romain Rolland, introducing Jawaharlal and his wife.

April 24: In letter to S. C. Sen, discussed the process of "the growing revelation of truth".
In letter to P. M. Seth, expressed his views on widow-remarriage.
In letter to Amritlal, expressed his views on life insurance as betraying "a measure of lack of faith in God".
In letter to Thakkar Bapa, commended exclusive devotion to the two missions, "the service of *Antyajas* and Bhils".
In letter to Ramu Thakkar, reiterated his faith in *Ramanama* and charkha.

April 25: In *Navajivan* article "Abolish Marriage", in reply to a correspondent, expressed his views in support of marriage against advocates of free love.

April 27: In letter to S. Srinivasa Iyengar, expressed confidentially his strong views against Council programme.

April 29: In *Young India* article "South Africa", congratulated the Government of India on the diplomatic victory gained in

South Africa in the cause of the Indian claim, The Areas Reservation Bill being postponed and a conference agreed upon.
In *Young India* note on "The Good Samaritan", paid a glowing tribute to Andrews for his work in South Africa; and "In the Grip of Untouchability", drew attention to the plight of the untouchables in Cochin State.

May 2: In letter to Romain Rolland, explained views on propaganda abroad for the Indian case.

May 4: Attended A.I.C.C. meeting at Gujarat Vidyapith.

May 5: Resolution on South Africa was moved by Satyamurti in A.I.C.C. meeting at Sabarmati.
Sabarmati Pact between Swarajists, Responsive Co-operationists broke down.

May 6: In *Young India* article "From Far-Off America", explained how soul-force was immeasurably superior to brute force.

May 8.: In letter to Abul Kalam Azad, described the pathetic condition of disunity within the Congress.

May 9: Devdas operated on for appendicitis.

May 13: Left Ahmedabad for Bombay on way to Mahabaleshwar.

May 14: Reached Bombay and visited Devdas.

May 15: Visited Mathuradas at Deolali on the way to Mahabaleshwar.

May 16: Reached Mahabaleshwar at 5 p.m. and stayed with Sir Chunilal Mehta.

May 17: Monday, silence day.

May 18: Met the acting Governor, Sir Henry Lawrence, and discussed agriculture, charkha and cattle problem.

May 19: Continued discussions with the Governor.

May 20: Reached Poona, visited Sinhgarh (to meet Kaka Kalelkar) and left for Bombay.
In *Young India,* wrote on racial discrimination against Indians in Australia.

May 22: Returned to Sabarmati.
In letter to K. T. Paul, suggested dropping of his trip to Finland.

May 30: In letter to A. A. Paul, in response to an invitation to visit China, agreed to do so.

In letter to A. I. Kajee, General Secretary, South African Indian Congress, Durban, gave advice on resolutions for the Annual Conference at Johannesburg on resistance to Colour Bar Bill.

In *Navajivan*, advised East African Indians to unify and "cultivate strength for satyagraha" to be able to live with self-respect.

June 3: In *Young India* article "The Bar Sinister", examined and criticized the Colour Bar Bill and the Class Areas Reservation Bill.

June 6: In letter to K. T. Paul, cancelled his trip to Finland.

June 8: In interview to Press, condemned Colour Bar Bill as "insulting".

In letter to Janakdhari Prasad, commented on the tragic drift away from non-co-operation, reiterated his firm faith in it as the way to freedom.

June 10: In *Young India*, wrote on "What Is Prayer".

June 14: Silence day. Sent message to students of the Gujarat Mahavidyalaya.

INDEX OF TITLES

INDEX



ERRATA

Page 17, item 20, line 1: *For* 'Bhagat' *read* 'Bhayat'.

Page 33, fn. 2, line 2: *For* '1925' *read* '1926'.

Page 111, fn. 1, line 2: *For* '4' *read* '7' *and add at the end* 'for its *Young India* version'.

Page 139, last but one line: For 'Mitter' *read* 'Mater'.

Page 140, paragraph 3, line 1: *For* 'coalition' *read* 'collation'

Page 247, item 291: *For* 'G. G. Roy' *read* 'G. G. Jog'.

Page 571, item 684, line 11: *For* 'you' *read* 'your'.

